A HISTORY
OF INDIAN LITERATURE

CLAUS VOGEL

INDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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EDITED BY JAN GONDA

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TO H.

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Claus Vogel

INDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

1. Introduction

Lexicographic work started in India at a very early date with the compilation of word-lists *(nighaṇṭu)* giving rare, unexplained, vague, or otherwise difficult terms culled from sacred writings. These glossaries, of which that handed down and commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta is the best-known and probably oldest specimen, did not, however, constitute the prototype of the dictionaries *(koṣa)* of later times.[1] There are instead a number of marked dissimilarities between them. For one thing, the Vedic word-lists deal with all parts of speech, when

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[1] There seems to be no technical term for lexicography in classical Sanskrit. The expression *abhidhānaśāstra* "science of words" (abbreviated as *abhidhāna*), which has been employed in this sense by some modern writers, is a neologism. The commonest term for dictionary is *kośa* (often spelt *koṣa* in keeping with Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana III 3. 221), a short form of *abhidhānakośa* or *-koṣa* "treasury of words" as met with, e.g., at Deśīnāmamālāṭīkā I 3, Hārāvalī 5, Kāmasūtra I 3.16.54, and Kāvyālaṃkāravṛtti I 3.3 and 5; *abhidhāna* in the same meaning is found at Mugdhabodha XXVI 219. Designations like *nāmanidhāna* "depository of nouns", *nāmapārāyaṇa* "collection of nouns" (and its antonym *dhātupārāyaṇa* "collection of verbs"), *nāmamālā* "festoon of nouns", or *nāmasaṃgraha* "compendium of nouns", with or without additions, appear to be restricted to the titles of books. A synonym of *kośa* current in South India to the present day is *nighaṇṭu* (also spelt *nighaṇṭa, nighaṇṭi, nirghaṇṭa,* or *nirghaṇṭu*), probably a Middle Indian derivation from **nirgrantha* "decomposition"; see M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, II, Heidelberg, 1963, p. 159. As early as the mid-11th century, Yādavaprakāśa said: *nāmaśāstre nighaṇṭur nā* "*nighaṇṭu* m. (is used) in the sense of dictionary" (Vaijayantī I 3.6.31c). It is above all the Vedic glossaries and the pharmacopoeias that go by this name, with the plural *nighaṇṭavaḥ* chosen for the former. Whether the word has ever been universally and indiscriminately applicable to all lexica is doubtful. According to Sāyaṇa, it is confined to synonymic ones: *ekārthavācināṃ paryāyaśabdānāṃ saṃgho yatra prāyeṇopadiśyate tatra nighaṇṭuśabdaḥ prasiddhaḥ / tādṛśeṣv Amarasiṃha-Vaijayantī-Halāyudhādiṣu daśa nighaṇṭava iti vyavahārāt /* "Where chiefly a number of convertible terms denoting the same thing are taught, there the term *nighaṇṭu* (is) customary. In the case of such (authors and works) as Amarasiṃha, the Vaijayantī, Halāyudha, etc. (we speak of) the ten Nighaṇṭus on account of usage" (Ṛgveda I[1] p. 39.4–5; I[2] p. 21.3–4).

in fact the classical dictionaries are generally limited to nouns and indeclinables.[2] For another, the Vedic glossaries are based on one or several individual texts, whereas the classical lexica hardly show any traces of literary influence.[3] For a third, the Nighaṇṭus served as teaching aids in the interpretation of scripture, while the Koṣas were meant primarily to help poets in composition, being an integral part of their education.[4] With this different object in view, the dictionary-makers wrote in verse – usually Ślokas but also Āryās – to facilitate the labour of memorizing, and drew upon various manuals to accelerate the study of the arts and sciences required of every belletrist.[5]

The gap separating the Vedic glossaries and classical lexica is partially occupied by certain kinds of books following in the wake of grammar that treat of verbal roots, words subject to the same rules, verbal nouns made by special affixes, and gender. These are the Dhātupāṭhas, Gaṇapāṭhas, Uṇādisūtras, and

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[2] An exceptional position is held by the so-called Kriyākoṣas or Kriyānighaṇṭus, which are dictionaries of synonymic verbs. Of those already published may here be named Bhaṭṭamalla's Ākhyātacandrikā (ŚIVADATTA ŚARMAN, Rūpamālā, Bombay, 1871; S.P.V. RANGANATHASVAMI AYYAVARALUGARU, CSS 22, Benares, 1904), Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Kriyānighaṇṭu (Mysore, 1905), Rāmacandra's Kriyākośa (Benares, 1876) — a digest of Bhaṭṭamalla's work —, and Vīrapāṇḍya's Kriyānighaṇṭu (Mysore, n.d.).

[3] Occasional attempts to prove the contrary were not very successful. Thus A. BOROOAH, who wanted to establish Amarasiṃha's dependence upon Kālidāsa, had to resort to the assumption that Amarasiṃha "either did not thoroughly examine the true sense of words used by Kâlidâsa or did not think proper to give their precise meaning" (Bhavabhûti and his place in Sanskrit literature, Calcutta, 1878, p. 26); and TH. ZACHARIAE, who at first was of opinion that "eine Menge Bedeutungen, die in den Koça gelehrt werden, nichts weiter sind als Glossen zu bestimmten Stellen in Kâlidâsa's Gedichten" (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 37; see also p. 26), later retracted this statement himself (Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 3). It is therefore not exactly convincing when H. HENSGEN infers from certain uncommon words found in the Kumārasaṃbhava but not in the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana that Amarasiṃha was anterior to, or coeval with, Kālidāsa (ZDMG 104, p. 377).

[4] Cf., e.g., Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa I 3, Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvyānuśāsana p. 3.1, or Vāmana's Kāvyālaṃkāravṛtti I 3.3 and 5. In addition to this, lexicography belongs to the sixty-four practical arts of the Hindus (Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra I 3.16.54) as well as to the subjects in which the young Bodhisattva was instructed (Lalitavistara p. 156.18).

[5] The close interrelation between lexicography and poetry is documented by the fact that numerous — if chiefly mediocre — lexica are owed or credited to poets (see P.P.S. SASTRI, [ABCIM 302], IX); among those noteworthy for their authorship, whether genuine or spurious, may be mentioned Bāṇa's Śabdacandrikā (No. 5050), Bhoja's Nāmamālikā (No. 4791; v. inf., § 12), Bilhaṇa's Trirūpakośa (No. 4759), Mayūra's Padacandrikā (No. 5009), Murāri's Suprasiddhapadamañjarī (No. 5071), and Śrīharṣa's Dvirūpakośa (Nos. 4763–4765) and Śleṣārthapadasaṃgraha (No. 5065). Conversely, the lexicographer Amarasiṃha also passes for a poet; stanzas bearing his name are found in Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta and Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa.

Liṅgānuśāsanas, of which the latter have also been taken into consideration by many lexicographers and thus form a visible link between the two neighbouring disciplines.[6]

2. *Characterization of Indian lexica*

Indian dictionaries may be synonymic or homonymic. The synonymic dictionaries are systematic catalogues of words with one and the same meaning *(ekārtha, samānārtha)*; they are commonly grouped subjectwise and often have the character of encyclopaedias. The homonymic dictionaries register words with more than one meaning *(anekārtha, nānārtha)*. A neat and proper discrimination of both categories is not always practicable since many synonymic lexica include a homonymic section or chapter as well.

The principles followed by the dictionary-makers in organizing the lexical matter have normally been laid down in the prefaces to their works; they are multifarious and complicated, and underwent sundry changes in the course of time. Only the outlines can be sketched here.[7] As the books were intended, not for reference, but for learning by heart, nowhere does a European type of organization occur. The articles are frequently ranged in an ascending or descending scale of length, that is, the number of synonyms ascribed to a concept or the number of meanings assigned to a homonym. If the alphabet comes into the picture, which happens solely in the case of homonymic dictionaries, it is oftener the final consonants than the initial letters that count. The sequence of words may also depend on their number of syllables, gender, and suffixes. Further criteria may have been applied that have not yet been detected (unless one wishes to argue that some works lack all method). There are but very few authors, however, and these mostly of the early days of lexicography, who adhere to one pattern alone; as a rule, two or more schemes are adopted side by side.

Regarding the structure of the individual items, synonyms appear in the nominative throughout. Homonyms, unless syntactically dependent, were treated likewise at first, the lemma being iterated with every new sense for the sake of emphasis and indication of gender; afterwards, however, meanings were recorded in the locative and head-words repeated only when the gender changed and no labels were used to mark it. The custom of putting the articles in the order of their size owes its origin to the circumstance that an entry and a stanza (or portion thereof) once were strictly coextensive, with the surplus space filled

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[6] Their boundary may even be fluid; the Liṅgānuśāsana of Vararuci, for instance, also goes by the title Vararucikoṣa. Cf. R.O. FRANKE, Die indischen Genuslehren, Kiel, 1890, p. 53.

[7] For details see A.F. STENZLER, De lexicographiae Sanscritae principiis, Vratislaviae, 1847, and TH. ZACHARIAE, Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 8.

by expletive words and phrases. The prolixity of style resulting from this coincidence is typical of the ancient period. With the advance of dictionary-making, the agreement between lexical and metrical units was increasingly abandoned in favour of brevity if not clarity. When metre did not help any more in finding out which synonyms might belong together or which meanings might apply to this and that homonym, special safeguards against ambiguity were built in: a series of synonyms came to be introduced by certain particles, and a homonym got to be placed in front of its senses. Another popular way of achieving greater terseness was to combine synonyms, meanings, and even homonyms into copulative compounds, the resolution of which gave rise to many a mistake in modern dictionaries.[8] A curious feature of homonymic lexica is that words of two meanings may stand in the nominative dual and words of three or more meanings in the nominative plural (passing, from the grammatical point of view, for Ekaśeṣas, a term denoting that of two or more stems that are alike in form and are followed by the same termination only one remains), with the meanings themselves added either as copulative compounds in the same case and number or separately in the nominative singular. Although a respectable quantity of techniques can be more or less definitely attributed to particular phases of development, the fact of their occurrence or non-occurrence is by itself inadequate for settling chronological problems, because later writers sometimes showed a tendency to imitate former usages.

3. Vācaspati's Śabdārṇava, Vyāḍi's Utpalinī, Vikramāditya's Saṃsārāvarta

As in other branches of Indian scientific literature, the products of the pioneer days of lexicography too were eclipsed by a few classics and are preserved at best in odd passages transmitted by the commentators. Apart from Bhāguri, Hugga,[9] Kātya, Rabhasa(pāla), Ranti(deva), Vararuci, and Vopālita or Bopālita, three authors and works deserve special attention. Their names and titles have been recorded together in the colophon of Puruṣottamadeva's Hārāvalī, where it says (v. 275):

> *Śabdārṇava Utpalinī Saṃsārāvarta ity api |*
> *koṣā Vācaspati-Vyāḍi-Vikramāditya-nirmitāḥ ||*

R. Birwé has recently established beyond doubt, as had long been supposed with varying degrees of confidence, that this stanza must be interpreted — in keeping with Pāṇini's rule *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* (I 3.10) — to mean:

> "the dictionaries Śabdārṇava, Utpalinī, and Saṃsārāvarta composed by Vācaspati, Vyāḍi, and Vikramāditya (respectively)."

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[8] Cf. Th. Zachariae, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 17; GGA 1885, p. 378; BKIS 13, p. 105; GGA 1894, p. 830.

[9] Cf. Th. Zachariae, WZKM 14, p. 225, and 35, p. 37. He is identical with Durga (v.l. Dugra) and Ugra, on whom see D. G. Koparkar, Liṅgānuśāsana of Durgasiṃha, Poona, 1952, p. VII.

He has also rightly pointed out that the collocation *Vācaspati-Vyāḍi-Vikramāditya* is incompatible with Pāṇini's rule *alpāctaram* (II 2.34), which requires the members of a dvandva to be compounded in the order of increasing number of syllables, and that this irregularity is probably due to chronological rather than metrical reasons.[10] His further assertion, however, that contrary to common opinion the Śabdārṇava — and hence the Utpalinī and Saṃsārāvarta — followed the Amarakoṣa is not very convincing. About Vācaspati can be said with certainty only that he was posterior to Kālidāsa, whose fellow-student Nicula was known to him by name,[11] and anterior to Hemacandra (1088–1172), who quoted him no less than 59 times. In declaring himself for a later date, Birwé relies on nothing but the dubious theory that Kālidāsa wrote after Amarasiṃha.[12]

Judging from the available material,[13] the Śabdārṇava was more copious than any of the extant Koṣas (save, perhaps, Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī and Viśvanātha's Koṣakalpataru), giving as many synonyms in a row as possible and often noting variant forms of the same word. As regards its arrangement, it must have contained both a synonymic and a homonymic section, besides which there were chapters on gender (fr. 247) and kṛt-affixes (fr. 17). The synonymic section was classified by major topics, a chapter on wild animals *(mṛgaprakaraṇa)* being mentioned in fr. 129. The homonymic section seems to have listed the lemmata in the alphabetical order of their final consonants (fr. 228). The metre is Anuṣṭubh throughout the fragments.

Vyāḍi is reckoned by Subhūticandra, Sarvānanda, and Rāyamukuṭa among the sources of Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana;[14] if rightly so must be left undecided. He shows himself very well versed in Mahāyāna Buddhism, particularly in its Tantric variety, and his reference in fr. 6 to the Śakti Tārā, the

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[10] Cf. R. Birwé, JAOS 85, p. 524.

[11] See Mallinātha on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta I 14.

[12] See above, note 3.

[13] 248 fragments extracted from 440 quotations by R. Birwé, JAOS 85, p. 531, and 88, p. 345. A real mine of additional quotations not exploited by Birwé is Śivadatta's Śivaprakāśa, for which see below, § 45 (46).

[14] The statement made by Th. Zachariae (Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 7) that he belonged to the authorities exclusively consulted for the gender of words is not borne out by Sarvānanda's and Rāyamukuṭa's commentaries. For while it is true that both scholiasts divide Amarasiṃha's sources at I 1.2 into "works on nouns only such as the Trikāṇḍa and Utpalinī" *(Trikāṇḍôtpalinyādīni nāmamātratantrāṇi)* and "works on gender only written by Vyāḍi, Vararuci, etc." *(Vyāḍi-Vararucy-ādi-praṇītāni liṅgamātratantrāṇi)*, it must not be overlooked that at least Rāyamukuṭa ascribes the Utpalinī expressly to Vyāḍi (*Utpalinyāṃ ca . . . iti Vyāḍiḥ* I 1.50). The question whether Vyāḍi the author of the Utpalinī and Vyāḍi the author of a Liṅgānuśāsana were actually one and the same person cannot be answered at present. Nor is there a way of telling whether Vyāḍi was identical with Vindhyavāsin, the author of a dictionary referred to by Rāyamukuṭa, Cāritrasiṃha, and Bhānuji Dīkṣita, as suggested by Zachariae on the strength of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 852 and Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 367.

female counterpart of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara whose cult was introduced about the sixth century,[15] is a valuable clue as to his terminus a quo,[16] his upper limit being fixed again by Hemacandra's Ṭīkās. The Utpalinī, cited now and then under the secondary title Utpala(mālā), was a synonymic dictionary apparently of considerable dimensions,[17] speaking at great length of the Bhūmis (fr. 4), the Jātakas (fr. 5), the Jinaśaktis (fr. 6), the Gaṇas (fr. 9), the Apsarases (fr. 11), the moon's horses (fr. 12), the increase and decrease of sunbeams in different seasons (fr. 15), and other such lexical non-essentials. Meanings are sometimes given through derivation (frs. 17 and 46). About its structure only this much can be said: that Bhānuji Dīkṣita furnishes evidence for a chapter on indeclinables (*avyayakāṇḍa*, fr. 70), and that there must have been a chapter on homonyms as well. The metre is Anuṣṭubh except in fr. 63, which is an Āryā stanza.

Vikramāditya is the least known of the three authors under consideration. His Saṃsārāvarta, of which not a single full verse has been traced so far,[18] seems to have been a synonymic dictionary with a separate chapter on homonyms (frs. 24 and 25). It presented itself in the introduction or colophon as "containing jewels from all good mines" (*sakalasatkhāniratnavān*, fr. 26), such "jewels" being, for instance, frs. 2, 8, 11, and 18, which are found also in Vācaspati's Śabdārṇava (frs. 6, 19, 33) and Vyāḍi's Utpalinī (fr. 33), and which were borrowed either from these works or from a common source. The allusion in fr. 16 to the origin of the fabulous river Jambu suggests that the Saṃsārāvarta too was rather detailed, and that Vikramāditya possibly was a Hindu by faith. Metres used are, besides the customary Anuṣṭubh, Āryā (fr. 4) and Vasantatilakā (frs. 10 and 26).[19]

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[15] Cf. L.A. Waddell, JRAS 1894, p. 63.

[16] He must therefore be different from the grammarian Vyāḍi mentioned in Kātyāyana's vārttika 45 on Pāṇini I 2.64 and quoted at Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya III 14, III 17, VI 12, and XIII 15.

[17] 79 fragments collected from 122 quotations (including one from a Bṛhadutpalinī) have been published by R. Birwé, JAOS 87, p. 46. According to G. Oppert, [ABCIM 292], I, Nos. 961 and 4109, the Utpalamālā is still existent; see H.H. Wilson, Works, V, London, 1865, p. 218. A commentary on it by Govindapāda, styled Utpalamālādīpikā, is cited in Śrīharṣa's Amarakhaṇḍana (pp. 23 and 25) and Kallolabhaṭṭa's Dṛṣṭāntasiddhāñjana (p. 144); see V. Raghavan, [ABCIM 231], II, p. 317.

[18] 26 fragments derived from 58 quotations have been recorded by R. Birwé, JAOS 93, p. 466.

[19] The guess made by Th. Zachariae (Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 6) that Vikramāditya's lexicon is perhaps the same as Sāhasāṅka's, both names being treated as interchangeable in the Śabdakalpadruma (V, p. 344b), is proved wrong by the disparate series of synonyms for "wind" given in the two works (see frs. 8–9 and Bhānuji Dīkṣita on Amarakoṣa I 1.63).

4. Weber Fragment No. 6

The first larger portion of a Koṣa to survive is the so-called Weber Fragment No. 6. It belongs to a batch of nine (perhaps eleven) incomplete manuscripts unearthed by the Afghan merchant Bildar Khan near Kucha[20] in East Turkestan and acquired from one Munshi Ahmed Din by the Rev. F. Weber, a Moravian missionary at Leh in Ladakh, who sold them to A.F.R. Hoernle.[21] The fragment in point consists of five folios of woolly Nepalese paper cut to the format of Indian palm-leaf codices and covered with size. It is written in Northern Turkestanic Brāhmī (the former Central Asian Nāgarī or Slanting Gupta) and dates in all likelihood from the 6th or 7th century. About one third of each folio is missing on the right-hand side. The text, which unfortunately abounds in corruptions and grammatical anomalies, is from at least two different parts of a synonymic dictionary composed in Ślokas and probably divided into chapters. Only the first three folios, comprising verses 24–57 of what the editor thinks to be the second chapter, have been provisionally transcribed, amended, and translated so far.[22] No classification of any kind is recognizable. The heavily padded mode of writing gives an impression of antiquity. A mention in v. 55 of "Kṣatriyas conquered by Buddha" *(kṣatriyair Buddha-nirjitaiḥ)* seems to show that the author was of the Buddhist creed. His name and time are not known.

5. Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana

The role played in grammar by Pāṇini fell in lexicography to the lot of Amarasiṃha. The problem of his date has occupied the minds of Sanskritists since Paolino da San Bartolomeo (1748–1805) but has not been solved to the present day. Indigenous tradition puts him among the nine jewels of the court of King Vikrama or Vikramāditya, whose identity is itself an open question. Supposing this tradition were correct, or at least approximately so,[23] he would

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[20] Not Kashgar, as stated here and there. Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan, and Karashahr are the four territories or "garrisons" which once constituted East Turkestan. For the geographical data see A.F.R. HOERNLE, The Bower Manuscript, Calcutta, 1893–1908, p. I.

[21] The Weber Manuscripts are now kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ and A.B. KEITH, [ABCIM 238], II, p. 111 (No. 1091).

[22] By A.F.R. HOERNLE, JASB 62, pt. 1, p. 26. See also G. BÜHLER's notice, WZKM 7, p. 266.

[23] Apart from oral testimony (J. BENTLEY, AR 8, p. 242), its only witnesses are a now lost Bodhgaya stone inscription of s. 1005 [948/49] turned into English from WILMOT's copy by CH. WILKINS, AR 1, p. 284, and a popular verse in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa (XXII 10), a late astrological treatise fathered upon Kālidāsa but probably dating from the end of the 16th century. While the latter carries little weight because of its recent origin, both the genuineness of Wilmot's find and the trust-

have been a contemporary of the astronomer Varāhamihira, who lived in the 6th century. As his name ends in *-siṃha*, he may have been of Kṣatriya origin.[24] Legend has it that he was not only a famous dictionary-maker but also a celebrated poet (some stray verses credited to him are still extant[25]), and that all his literary works were proscribed by Śaṅkara and Udayana on account of the heterodox views expressed in them.[26] At any rate, there can be little doubt about his being a Buddhist; for though the Amarakoṣa pays no particular attention to Buddhist matters, it does give the names of the Buddha before those of the principal Hindu deities (I 1.14ff.) and the names of the sacred fig-tree, under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment, before those of the other plants (II 4.20ff.), and its introductory stanza is referable to the Buddha too.[27]

Amarasiṃha's lexicon bears the title Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana,[28] thereby indicating at the outset that it is — like many Indian lexica — a combination of noun

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worthiness of Wilkins's rendering have often been questioned. This is not, of course, the place to enter on a new discussion of the said inscription. If, however, Wilmot should have become the victim of a forgery, as maintained by J.F. Fleet (IA 30, p. 3, n. 10), it must have been a very skilful one; for the date translated by Wilkins as "Friday, the fourth day of the new moon in the month of Madhoo, when in the seventh or mansion of Ganisa, and in the year of the Era of Veekramâdeetya 1005" works out all right except for the lunar house, whose name is mutilated anyway, corresponding by F. Kielhorn's calculation (IA 20, p. 127) to Friday, 17 March 948.

24 Cf. H.H. Wilson, Works, V, London, 1865, p. 166. R. Mitra (JASB 33, p. 184) calls him a Kāyastha.

25 See above, n. 5.

26 Cf. H.T. Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, II², London, 1873, p. 16.

27 Cf. Th. Goldstücker, ZKM 7, p. 180; R. Mitra, JASB 33, p. 183/184, n. — All references in this chapter to the Amarakoṣa proper are to Śivadatta's edition, Bombay, ⁶1944.

28 Its editions and vernacular translations are legion; see V. Raghavan, [ABCIM 231], I², p. 323. The first specimen (in Grantha characters) to go to the press was the Svargavarga edited from three manuscripts and rendered into Latin by P. da San Bartolomeo, Romae, 1798. The editio princeps, with an English interpretation and annotations, is owed to H.T. Colebrooke, Serampore, 1808 (²1825; Calcutta, ³1891). The only edition to appear in Europe, with a French version, notes, and an index, was prepared by A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris, 1839–45. Other text editions worth mentioning are those of L. Rice, Bangalore, 1873 (with English and Kanarese meanings); Durgâprasâd, K.P. Parab, and Śivadatta, Abhidhânasangraha, I 1, Bombay, 1889 (with variant readings from four commentaries); S.V. Śubharāma Śāstrī, Madras, 1904 (with an English interpretation); Haragovinda Śāstrī, HSS 30, Benares, 1937 (²1957; ³1968) (with Hindi commentary, Sanskrit notes, introduction, and word index); N.G. Sardesai and D.G. Padhye, POS 69, Poona, 1940 (²1969) (with Sanskrit-English index); and S.Ś. Joshi, HSS 144, Benares, 1946 (³1949) (with Sanskrit notes). For further editions see § 6. — The oldest known manuscript of the Amarakoṣa, a Nepalese codex purchased for the Government of Bengal, was written in the month of Caitra in the 24th regnal year of Govindapāla Deva [March–April 1185]. Cf. H.P. Sháströ, JASB 62, pt. 1, p. 250.

and gender book. It falls into three sections *(kāṇḍa)* of several chapters *(varga)* each, whence it came to be known also as the Trikāṇḍa or Trikāṇḍī. The first section *(svarādikāṇḍa)* deals in ten chapters with words relative to heaven *(svarga)*, the sky *(vyoman)*, its quarters *(diś)*, time *(kāla)*, thought *(dhī)*, sound etc. *(śabdādi)*, dance *(nāṭya)*, the nether world and serpents *(pātālabhogin)*, hell *(naraka)*, and water *(vāri)*.[29] The second and longest section *(bhūmyādikāṇḍa)* treats in another ten chapters of words pertinent to the earth *(bhūmi)*, towns *(pura)*, mountains *(śaila)*, woods and herbs *(vanauṣadhi)*, animals *(siṃhādi)*, man *(manuṣya)*, and the four castes *(brahman, kṣatriya, vaiśya, śūdra)*. The third section *(sāmānyakāṇḍa)*, which has five chapters, is about adjectives *(viśeṣyanighna)*, miscellaneous words *(saṃkīrṇa)*, homonyms *(nānārtha)*, and indeclinables *(avyaya)*; it closes with a summary of rules on gender *(liṅgādisaṃgraha)*. The metre is Anuṣṭubh in all but 18 stanzas, in which it is Āryā or Gīti.[30]

The bulk of the Amarakoṣa is a synonymic dictionary whose articles are grouped subjectwise and not bound to metrical units, with *atha* and *tu* serving as punctuation aids in cases of need. The gender is marked either by the apposite terminations or by labels.[31] Dvandvas and Ekaśeṣas are formed only of words having the same gender. The number of the various synonyms and meanings is sometimes stated by a numeral. In the Nānārthavarga (III 3), the homonyms are split into declinables and indeclinables and within either class listed in the alphabetical order of their final consonants,[32] being iterated only when given another gender ending, whereas the senses are put now in the nominative and now in the locative. In the Liṅgādisaṃgrahavarga (III 5), the vocables are arranged according as they are feminine, masculine, neuter, masculine or neuter, feminine or masculine, feminine or neuter, and feminine, masculine, or neuter.

Of his sources Amarasiṃha himself speaks just in very general terms as "other works" (*anyatantrāṇi* I 1.2). The scholiasts Subhūticandra, Sarvānanda,

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[29] The above division agrees with I 10.44: *uktaṃ svarvyomadikkāladhīśabdādisanāṭyakam / pātālabhoginarakaṃ vāri caiṣāṃ ca saṃgatam //* Controversial is only the question whether *vyomadiś* and *pātālabhogin* form one chapter or two chapters each. According to some authorities, however, the earliest of whom are Kṣīrasvāmin and Subhūticandra, the whole first section comprises but two chapters: one, called Svargavarga, covering the topics of the first hemistich and one, named Pātālavarga, those of the second. Cf. A. Borooah's edition, Berhampore, 1887–88, p. IV.

[30] Āryā: II 8.101/102, II 9.9, II 10.18/19, III 1.101/102–112/113, III 3.37/38–38/39; Gīti: III 1.64/65.

[31] These are *nṛ* or *puṃs* for the masculine gender, *strī* for the feminine gender, *dvi* for the epicene gender, *klība, dvihīna, na dvi*, or *napuṃsaka* for the neuter gender, and *tri* for all three genders; they stand either in the nominative or in the locative (*dvi* and *tri* only in the locative). If one gender is precluded by terms like *na nṛ* or *astrī*, the other two are allowed. Adjectival use is denoted by the nominative of *anya-, tri-, bhedya-*, or *vācyaliṅga(ka)*.

[32] The prefix *ā*, the particle *ā*, and the interjection *ās* come before *ku* (III 3.239/240).

and Rāyamukuṭa, however, while elaborating on this phrase, distinguish between "works on nouns only" *(nāmamātratantrāṇi)* and "works on gender only" *(liṅgamātratantrāṇi)*. To the former they assign the Trikāṇḍa, a word book in three sections supposed to be Bhāguri's,[33] from which Amarasiṃha may have adopted the overall plan of his lexicon, and the Utpalinī, a synonymic dictionary compiled by Vyāḍi and described in § 3.[34] Among the latter they include the gender book of Vyāḍi, to which also the Liṅgānuśāsanas of Harṣavardhana (v. 96) and Vāmana (v. 31) have recourse, and that of Vararuci, which we still possess.[35] Subhūticandra adduces as a third and a fourth authority the gender book of Candragomin, which is referred to by Rāyamukuṭa (II 679), and that of Vāmana, which likewise is still extant. Probably a fifth writer to be named here is Kātyāyana, whom Rāyamukuṭa mentions along with Vyāḍi and Vararuci in another passage of his comments on the above stanza, and who is different from the lexicographer Kātya.[36]

The Amarakoṣa was translated into Tibetan by Kīrticandra and Grags-pa-rgyal-mthsan of Yar-luṅs (fl. c. 1300) at Yam-bu, the ancient capital of Nepal. Their work was included in Bu-ston's recension of the Tanjur, which belongs to the early 14th century,[37] and revised twice in later years: a first time by Chos-skyoṅs-bzaṅ-po (1441–1528), the famous grammarian and lo-tsā-ba of Źa-lu,[38] and a second time by Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas or gTsug-lag Chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba (17th c.), the great pundit of Si-tu.[39] A Mongolian translation, made from the

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[33] Thus TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 28, p. 113.

[34] H.H. WILSON (Works, V, London, 1865, p. 202) and H.T. COLEBROOKE (Miscellaneous Essays, II², London, 1873, p. 49) add the Rabhasakoṣa; on what grounds, they do not say.

[35] See above, n. 14. Similarly Bhānuji Dīkṣita: *Trikāṇḍôtpaliny-ādīni nāmamātra-pratipādakāni / Vararucy-ādi-kṛtāni tu liṅgamātrapratipādakāni /*

[36] See R. ŚARMĀ, Kalpadrukośa of Keśava, I, Baroda, 1928, p. XIII. Kātya's oft-cited vocabulary was entitled Nāmamālā, as appears from a half Śloka attributed in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṃkāravṛtti (I 3.6) and Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvyānuśāsana (p. 6.16–17) to the Nāmamālā but in Mahendra's Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī (II 517) to Kātya.

[37] It is listed in all three registers *(dkar-chag)* of his oeuvre *(gSuṅ-'bum)*: vol. 24 *(ya)*, fol. 171a2; vol. 26 *(la)*, fol. 114a7–b1; vol. 28 *(śa)*, fol. 108b6. See also E. OBERMILLER, History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, I, Heidelberg, 1931, p. 47.

[38] This is the canonical version found in the mDo or Sūtra section of the Chone, Derge, Narthang, and Peking Tanjurs, its location being respectively: vol. 118 *(se)*, fol. 126b1–243a7; vol. 118 *(se)*, fol. 126b1–243a7; vol. 117 *(śe)*, fol. 1–58b7; vol. 117 *(śe)*, fol. 1–63b1 [~Otani reprint, vol. 140, pp. 131–157]. It has been edited by S.C. VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, BI 204, Calcutta, 1911–12. The introduction and the first ten stanzas of the Svargavarga, together with a German rendering, were published as early as 1847 by O. BÖHTLINGK, BCHP 3, col. 209.

[39] A photoprint of the Derge xylograph of this version has been issued by LOKESH CHANDRA, ŚPS 38, New Delhi, 1965. It is accompanied by a valuable preface (p. 5) dealing with the history of Indo-Tibetan lexicography and an informative excursus (p. 19) giving a detailed comparison of the first 75 stanzas of the two versions (down to I 3.8).

Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka by Guusi dGe-legs-rgyal-mthsan, is contained in the Mongolian Tanjur.[40] Moreover, there are renderings into Burmese and Sinhalese.[41]

6. Commentaries on Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana

Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana is by general consent the best guide to the acceptations of Sanskrit nouns. While Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī is rivalled by other grammars, some of which have even gained the mastery in certain provinces of India, the Amarakoṣa has been in vogue wherever the Sanskrit language is cultivated. All later dictionaries are used as a rule only when it is either silent or too scanty. Small wonder, therefore, that it has often been imitated, notably in the lexical section of the Agnipurāṇa[42] and in the Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggallāna,[43] a Pali vocabulary written in Jetavana Monastery at Pulatthipura towards the end of the 12th century and dealing in three parts of 1203 stanzas altogether with synonyms, homonyms, and indeclinables. The Bṛhadamarakoṣa quoted by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji Dīkṣita, as well as the Vṛddhāmarakoṣa cited by Sarvānanda, in their scholia on I 1.27 are obviously nothing but amplifications of Amarasiṃha's book. The strongest evidence of its popularity is, however, that at least 80 commentaries — more than on any other piece of

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[40] It stands in the Sūtra section, vol. 117 *(śe)*, fol. 1–96b.

[41] Cf. LOKESH CHANDRA, op. cit., p. 16. — According to S. JULIEN (JA IV 10, p. 87), who refers to Ta-T'ang nei-tien-lu V (TI 55, p. 273), the Amarakoṣa was also translated into Chinese, and that by [1] Chü-na-lo-t'o [Guṇarata, † 569]. The version in point, which has not been handed down to us, is listed in the said catalogue as follows: [2] *fan wai kuo yü ch'i chüan i ming Tsa shih i ming Chü-shê lun yin yüan shih* "translation from the language of a foreign country in seven books now called Miscellaneous Matters [Saṃyuktavastu] and now called Matters of Cause and Reason in the Kośaśāstra [Kośaśāstrahetupratyayavastu]". BUNYIU NANJIO (in F.M. MÜLLER, India what can it teach us? London, 1883, p. 376), adducing a similar entry from K'ai yüan shih-chiao mu-lu VII (TI 55, p. 546), already observed that there is actually no trace in these titles of the Amarakoṣa and that, judging by the latter title, the work in question is rather comparable to the second chapter of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośaśāstra. Unfortunately his remark has not received all the attention it deserves, the existence of such a translation being still asserted, for example, by S.N. DASGUPTA, A History of Sanskrit literature, I, Calcutta, ²1962, p. 539, n. 1.

[42] Chapters 360–367, now being critically edited by R. BIRWÉ. In a detailed study of these chapters, published in JAOS 96, p. 383 *sqq.*, BIRWÉ could discern two different strata (360, 362; 361, 363–367), which he considers posterior to the mid-12th and 14th centuries respectively, their common terminus ad quem being a Calcutta manuscript of ś. 1587 or 1665/66 (see H. SHĀSTRĪ, [ABCIM 51], V, p. 422).

[43] Edited with English and Sinhalese interpretations, notes, and appendices by W. SUBHŪTI, Colombo, ¹1865, ²1883, ³1900. Indexed by the same, Colombo, 1893. Cf. W. GEIGER, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, Straßburg, 1916, p. 37.

[1], [2] see below, p. 383.

Indian literature — have been handed down to us.[44] Those already published or studied, or deserving special attention, include:

(1) the Amarakoṣodghāṭana of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin, son of Bhaṭṭa Īśvarasvāmin, composed in the first half of the 12th century.

It contains many quotations from the works of King Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled from about 1018 to 1060, and is cited twice in Vardhamāna's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (v. 306 ~II 8.14 and v. 430 ~I 6.14), which is dated s. 1197 [1140/41]. The author's Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī is said in the colophon to have been copied by himself during the reign of King Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1128–49), under whom his father served as a minister; cf. B. LIEBICH's edition, Breslau, 1930, p. 201. We see no reason to doubt this statement or to put a different interpretation on it, as is done by YUDHIṢṬHIRA MĪMĀṂSAKA, Saṃskṛt vyākaraṇ-śāstra kā itihās, II, Ajmer, s. 2019, p. 78, who fixes Kṣīrasvāmin's floruit at s. 1115–65 [1058/59–1108/09]; according to him, the Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī is anonymously referred to several times in Maitreyarakṣita's Dhātupradīpa, which he assigns to about s. 1165.

Edited by A. BOROOAH, Berhampore, 1887–88 (up to I 5.5); T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, TSS 43 and 51, Trivandrum, 1915–17 (II 1–10 only); K.G. OKA, Poona, 1913; H.D. SHARMA and N.G. SARDESAI, POS 43, Poona, 1941. The oldest available manuscript, dated *śrī-nṛpa-Vikramāditya-rājye gatâbda-saṃvat 1619 varṣe bhādrapada-śukla-pakṣe paṃcamyāṃ guru-vāsare* [Thursday, 3 September 1562], is recorded in G.V. DEVASTHALI, [ABCIM 37], I, p. 41; cf. N.G. SARDESAI, PO 1, pt. 1, p. 24.

On Kṣīrasvāmin's sources see TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 28, p. 103; on his vernacular vocabulary see TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 67.

(2) the Kāmadhenu of Subhūticandra, composed between 1060 and 1172, probably in the first half of the 12th century.

It refers to the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of King Bhoja of Dhārā, who died after 1060, and is quoted in Śaraṇadeva's Durghaṭavṛtti, which was written in 1172. Cf. P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, pp. 215 and 217.

Despite its importance, the Kāmadhenu has apparently not been transmitted intact, nor has it been edited so far. The earliest known manuscript, a fragmentary palm-leaf codex dated Newar s. 311 [!] Phālguna vadi 3 Bṛhaspati [Thursday, 14 February 1191], was discovered by RĀHULA SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA in the Central Tibetan monasteries of Ṅor and Sa-skya and described by him in JBORS 21, p. 40 (No. 150: end, ff. 192–389), and 23, p. 21 (No. 185: beginning, 17 leaves); photographs of its initial portion are found in the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, and the Seminary for Indian and Buddhist Studies, Göttingen. On Subhūticandra's sources see T.R. CHINTAMANI, JOR 8, p. 372.

As Subhūticandra was a Buddhist, his commentary forms part of the Lamaist canon, being listed in all three registers *(dkar-chag)* of Bu-ston's oeuvre *(gSuṅ-'bum)*: vol. 24 *(ya)*, fol. 171a2–3; vol. 26 *(la)*, fol. 114b1–2; vol. 28 *(sa)*, fol. 108b6–7. It belongs to the mDo or Sūtra section of the Tanjur and occurs respectively in vol. 118 *(se)*: fol. 244b1–322a7, vol. 118 *(se)*: fol. 244b1–318a7, vol. 117 *(śe)*: fol. 58b7–78b2, and vol. 117 *(śe)*: fol. 63b1–127b7 (~ vol. 140: pp. 157–183) of the Chone, Derge, Narthang, and Peking xylographs (and the Otani reprint) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka and in vol. 117 *(śe)*: fol. 97a–218a of the Mongolian Tripiṭaka.

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[44] See V. RAGHAVAN, [ABCIM 231], I², p. 324. On the Bengali commentators in particular see N.N. DASGUPTA, IC 2, p. 261.

Both versions, prepared and revised by the same scholars as those of the Amarakoṣa proper, are unfinished and abridged: the Chone, Derge, and Peking recensions (and hence also the Mongolian version) extend to II 8.81/82 but omit more and more stanzas towards the end, including only 9 out of 115 hemistichs of the Brahmavarga (II 7.1–2b, 4–6) and 10 out of 239 hemistichs of the Kṣatriyavarga (II 8.1–2b, 34a–c, 43c–45b, 81d–82a); the Narthang recension, edited by S. C. VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, BI 219, Calcutta, 1912, is still shorter, breaking off abruptly with I 3.15b.

(3) the Ṭīkāsarvasva of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, composed in ś. 1081 [1159/60].

Schol. on I 4.21c: *idānīṃ caikāśītivarṣādhikasahasraikaparyantena śakābdakālena ṣaṣṭivarṣādhikadvicatvāriṃśacchatāni kalisaṃdhyāyā bhūtāni* / "And at present, with the Śaka-year period defined by one thousand and eighty-one years, forty-two hundred and sixty years of the Kali era (are) past."

Edited by T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, TSS 38. 43. 51. 52, Trivandrum, 1914–17. For a study of the Deśī words used by the author see N.P. CHAKRAVARTI, JA 209, p. 81. An index of writers and works quoted by him is found in M. SESHAGIRI SASTRI, [ABCIM 198], II, p. 24.

(4) the Amarapadavivṛti or Liṅgābhaṭṭīya of Liṅgayasūrin (or Liṅgābhaṭṭa), son of Vaṅgala Kāmaya Bhaṭṭa, composed between 1150 and 1300; and

(5) the Amarapadapārijāta of Mallinātha, son of Nṛsiṃhasūrin Bollāṭinmi of the Śrīvatsagotra, composed in the 14th century.

Liṅgayasūrin and Mallinātha (no kin to the Mahākāvya scholiast) were South Indians hailing from Āndhra. Liṅgayasūrin quotes Kṣīrasvāmin (introd. v. 2) and is quoted by Mallinātha (I 8.35), who in turn cites the Vairāgyapañcaka of Veṅkaṭanātha (allegedly 1268–1369) at II 6.119 but does not mention either the Padacandrikā of Rāyamukuṭa (1432) or the Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (about 1557–1627).

The Liṅgābhaṭṭīya was first published with Telugu explanations in Madras, 1915. Both commentaries are now being critically edited by A.A. RAMANATHAN, ALS 101, Madras, 1971 ff. A list of the names of authors and works quoted in the Liṅgābhaṭṭīya is given by M. SESHAGIRI SASTRI, [ABCIM 198], II, p. 33.

(6) the Bālabodhinī (in Newari) of Māṇikya, commissioned by Jayadbrahmasvāmin — minister of King Jayasthiti Malla of Nepal — for the use of his son and completed at Bhaktapura or Bhatgaon on Wednesday, 28 March 1386.

Cf. C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 61], p. 187 (where the title is wrongly stated to be Vivṛti). The date is given in the scholiast's colophon (v. 5) as *ṣaḍ-uttare pañca-śate gate 'bde nepālike māsi ca caitra-saṃjñe / ⟨ṣ⟩kṛṣṇa-pakṣe madanâbhidhāyāṃ tithau śaśāṅkâtmaja-vāsare ca //* It has been calculated by F. KIELHORN, IA 17, p. 247.

(7) the Amarakoṣavyākhyā of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya alias Mārapota, composed under King Kumāra Śiṅga (c. 1385–1410).

Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, IHQ 19, p. 73. Śiṅga Bhūpāla's date is not uncontroversial, though; for details see S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit poetics, I², Calcutta, 1960, p. 239. The third section is being critically edited by A.A. RAMANATHAN, ALS 101, Madras.

(8) the Amarakoṣapañjikā or Padacandrikā of Bṛhaspati Miśra alias Rāyamukuṭamaṇi, son of Govinda, of Rādhā in Bengal, composed in ś. 1353 [1431/1432].

Schol. on I 124: *idānīṃ ca śakābdāḥ — 1353 dvātriṃśadabdādhikapañcaśatottara-catuḥsahasravarṣāṇi kalisaṃdhyāyā bhūtāni / 4532 /* "And at present 1353 Śaka years (and) four thousand and five hundred and thirty-two years of the Kali era (are) past, 4532."

Edited by A. Borooah, Berhampore, 1887–88 (up to I 5.5), and K.K. Dutta, CSCRS 48, Calcutta, 1966ff. (in progress). Two old Śāradā codices, dated s. 1711 [1654/55] and ś. 1577 [1655/56], are found respectively in the Government Manuscripts Library (No. 111 of 1883/84) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and in the Stein Collection (No. 6) of the Indian Institute, Oxford; cf. R.G. Bhandarkar, [ABCIM 273], IV, p. 265, and G.L.M. Clauson, JRAS 1912, p. 592/593. The second section of the latter codex was finished *[Saptarṣi-]saṃ° 31 śākaḥ 1577 śrā-śruti 5,* i.e. 27 July 1655 (O.S.) or 6 August 1655 (N.S.); cf. M.A. Stein, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Bombay, 1892, p. vii, n. 3.

On Rāyamukuṭa's sources see Th. Aufrecht, ZDMG 28, p. 109; R.G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 61; Durgâprasâda, ib., p. 467. On his patron, date, and works see R.C. Hazra, IHQ 17, p. 442, and D.C. Bhattacharyya, IHQ 17, p. 456.

(9) the Amarakoṣasannaya (in Sinhalese) of an anonym, composed between the 13th and early 15th centuries.

Partly edited by A. de Silva Devarakkhita Baṭuvantuḍāvē, Colombo, 1880 (introduction, scholia on I 1.1–5 and III 5, extracts for the rest), A. Mendis Gunasekera, Siṃhalagranthārṇavaya, n. p. or d., p. 275 (scholia on I 1.1–6), and M. Wimalajoti, Colombo, 1934 (scholia on I 1.1–4 and III 5). — Personal communication from Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen.

(10) the Amarakoṣapañcikā (in Malayalam) of Vāsudeva, completed on 19 May 1541.

Colophon, v. 1: *śaśadhara-vasu-bāṇa-prāṇa-randhra-kṣameśaiḥ parimitim upayāte vāsarāṇāṃ samūhe / iha kaliyuga-bhājāṃ Vāsudevo dvijanmā vyalikhad Amarakośa-grantha-tātparya-sāram //* "When the number of days pertinent to the Kaliyuga had reached the measure (constituted) by 1695581, the twice-born Vāsudeva gave herein the essence of the purport of the book (styled) Amarakoṣa." Cf. V. Krishnamacharya, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 368. On *vi-likh* signifying authorship see K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, ALB 5, p. 27. — Printed at Cottayam, 1856.

(11) the Amarakoṣapañjikā or Padārthakaumudī of Nārāyaṇa Śarman (or Cakravartin), son of Rāma, of Pūtatuṇḍa in Bengal, composed in ś. 1540 [1618/19].

Schol. on I 4.21c: *idānīṃ śakābdāḥ 1540 / ūnaviṃśatyadhikasaptacatvāriṃśacchatāni varṣāṇi kalisaṃdhyā⟨yā⟩ bhūtāni 4719 /* "At present 1540 Śaka years (and) forty-seven hundred and nineteen 4719 years of the Kali era (are) past." Cf. J. Eggeling, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 272. On Nārāyaṇa's sources see Th. Aufrecht, ZDMG 28, p. 121.

(12) the Vyākhyāsudhā, Rāmāśramī, or Subodhinī of Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, composed at the request of Prince Kīrtisiṃha of Mahīdhara in the first half of the 17th century, probably between 1620 and 1640.

Cf. P.K. Gode, Studies in Indian literary history, III, Poona, 1956, p. 25, who identifies Bhānuji Dīkṣita's patron as Fateh Singh of Maihar (c. 1620–60).

Lithographed at Kāśī, s. 1911 [1854/55]; edited by Śivadatta, Bombay, [1]1889, [3]1905, [4]1915, [5]1929, [6]1944, and Haragovinda Śāstrī, KSS 198, Varanasi, 1970. A contemporary manuscript of the second section (No. 200 of 1882–83), kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and dated s. 1705 [1648/49], has

been noticed by P.K. GODE, ib.; one of the third section (No. 5439), stored in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, and written in s. 1725 [1668/69], is listed by C. KUNHAN RAJA and K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, [ABCIM 28], p. 409.

(13) the Trikāṇḍaviveka or Trikāṇḍarahasya(prakāśa) of Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, composed after ś. 1579 [1657/58].

Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 28, p. 122. At I 6.5/6 is mentioned the author's Smṛtiratnāvalī, which was written *aṅkâdri-śara-śubhrāṃśu-saṃmite śaka-vatsare* (see J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 3, p. 463); hence the date 1633 A.D. assigned to the commentary cum grano salis by Aufrecht and adopted by most subsequent scholars cannot be correct.

(14) the Sārasundarī of Mathureśa Vidyālaṃkāra, son of Śivarāma Cakravartin and Pārvatī, composed in ś. 1588 [1666/67].

Thus the Svargavarga colophon (after I 7): *gajâṣṭa-tithi-gaṇyâbde Vidyālaṃkāra-dhīmatā / racitā Svarga-vargasya ṭīkêyaṃ Sārasundarī //* "In the year to be counted by (the numerals) elephant, eight, and lunar day [1588], this Sārasundarī commentary on the Svargavarga (has been) prepared by the learned Vidyālaṃkāra." Quite similarly the Liṅgādisaṃgrahavarga colophon, v. 1: *gajâṣṭa-tithi-yuk-śāke Vidyālaṃkāra-dhīmatā / Liṅgâdi-saṃgrahe ṭīkā nirmame Sārasundarī //* Cf. R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], VII, p. 221 (No. 2465, dated ś. 1602 or A.D. 1680/81); J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 275. This commentary, which depends in its explanations on Padmanābhadatta's system of grammar, has remained unedited so far. On Mathureśa himself see below, § 41.

(15) the Budha- or Vidvanmanoharā of Mahādeva Tīrtha (or Vedāntin), pupil of Svayaṃprakāśa Tīrtha, composed in the second half of the 17th century.

Cf. M.M. PATKAR, SPAIOC 17, p. 41. Variant readings found in this commentary have been noted in the text edition of DURGÂPRASÂDA, K.P. PARAB, and ŚIVADATTA published as No. I 1 of the Abhidhâna-sangraha, Bombay, 1889.

(16) the Mugdhabodhinī of Bharatamallika alias Bharatasena, son of Gaurāṅgamallika and scion of an old Bengali family of physicians, composed in ś. 1599 [1677/78].

Cf. D.C. BHATTACHARYYA, IHQ 18, p. 168. (This article rectifies the various errors about Bharatamallika's date, patron, and place of residence current in secondary literature to the present day.) The author, who bases himself in his derivations on Vopadeva's Mugdhabodha, also has to his credit several other commentaries and some independent works, among them an Ekākṣara- and a Śabdabhedakoṣa (v. inf., § 45 [9] and [19]).

(17) the Amarakoṣaviveka or Śiśubodhinī of Maheśvara, son of Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa Sukaṭhānekara of the Viśvāmitragotra, a widespread commentary of uncertain but modern date.

Printed lithographically and typographically several times: Poona, ś. 1766 [1844/45]; Poona, ś. 1771 [1849/50]; Indore, ś. 1771 [1849/50]; Benares, s. 1913 [1856/57]; Bombay, 1862; Benares, s. 1924 [1867/68]. Best known in the enlarged redaction of RAGHUNATH SHASTRI TALEKAR as edited by C.S. THATTE under the superintendence of F. KIELHORN: Bombay, [1]1877, [2]1882, and revised by V. JHALAKĪKARA under the superintendence of R.G. BHÂNDÂRKAR: Bombay, [3]1886, [5]1896, [6]1907. On this Maheśvara, who is different from the author of the Viśvaprakāśa and Śabdabhedaprakāśa (§ 17), see V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 386.

An anonymous commentary of unknown title and date preserved in a single codex (No. 3356) of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, has been analysed by T. R. CHINTAMANI, JOR 6, p. 247.

In spite of its almost universal recognition, the Amarakoṣa has at times been criticized. As early as the 12th century, the scholiast Kṣīrasvāmin pointed out a number of mistakes with the help of the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu.[45] In the 18th century, the Āndhra lexicographer Śrīharṣa blamed it in a tract called Amarakhaṇḍana[46] for being poor in words, variant forms, and gender indications. The latter's critique was refuted by Kṛṣṇasūri, another Āndhra writer (b. 1770), in the fifth chapter of his Sāhityakalpalatikā entitled Amaramaṇḍana.[47]

7. *Śāśvata's Anekārthasamuccaya*

A pretty old work, formerly taken to be even older than the Amarakoṣa, is Śāśvata's Anekārthasamuccaya.[48] The author drew upon "all the poems of good poets" (*nikhilāni sukavikāvyāni*, v. 805) and studied, besides three grammars and five gender books, "the practice of the wise" (*śiṣṭaprayoga*, introd. v. 6) — i.e. the methods of his predecessors — for the purpose of writing it. Checked by a certain Khuḍula and other experts who lived at the court — or were regular guests in the house — of one Vidyāvilāsa, and thoroughly re-examined in collaboration with a poet called Mahābala and a scholar named Varāha[49] (v. 806f.) prior to publication, it is a purely homonymic dictionary of 1800-odd lemmata and 814 stanzas, all but two of which are Ślokas; only the first verses of the introduction and epilogue are in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Āryā metres respectively.

Though undivided into chapters, its main body falls naturally into five parts: (1) nouns needing a full Śloka for their explanation (vv. 1–153); (2) nouns needing a half Śloka for their explanation (vv. 154–593); (3) nouns needing a quarter

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[45] Cf. TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 23; A. BOROOAH's edition, p. XI; K. G. OKA's edition, p. (6).

[46] Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, JOR 5, p. 16.

[47] Edited by V. RAGHAVAN, SIAL 4, Poona, 1949.

[48] Edited by TH. ZACHARIAE, Berlin, 1882; K. G. OKA, Poona, 1918 (criticized by ZACHARIAE, WZKM 35, p. 36); N. N. KULKARNI, Poona, 1929. For suggestions as to its time, none of which are really convincing, see the introductions to these editions but note ZACHARIAE's modifications of his own view in Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 24.

The earliest known manuscript, a palm-leaf codex of 93 folios dated *saṃvat 1240 varṣe jyeṣṭha vadi 9 ravau* [Sunday, 6 May 1184], was found in the Saṃghavī Pāḍā Bhaṇḍār at Pattan in 1879 and copied for Government; see F. KIELHORN, [ABCIM 273], I, pp. V and 67. Unfortunately it is not recorded by L. B. GANDHI, [ABCIM 259], I.

[49] Hardly the astronomer Varāhamihira, in spite of A. BOROOAH, Amara Sinha's Nomalinganushasana, Berhampore, 1887, p. XI, and P. E. PAVOLINI, GSAI 5, p. 182, n.

Śloka for their explanation (vv. 594–734); (4) supplements to earlier articles (vv. 735–780); (5) indeclinables needing either a half Śloka (vv. 781–793) or a quarter Śloka (vv. 794–804) for their explanation. The third part lists nouns of usually two meanings made into seven further groups after the manner of their explanation: (a) the homonyms stand in the nominative dual (double Ekaśeṣas), with their meanings given as Dvandvas in the same case and number (vv. 595–625); (b) they stand in the nominative plural (triple Ekaśeṣas), with their meanings given as Dvandvas in the same case and number (vv. 626–627); (c) they stand twice in the nominative singular, with their meanings given uncompounded in the same case and number (vv. 628–635); (d) they stand once in the nominative singular, with their meanings given as Dvandvas in the locative dual (vv. 636–678); (e) they stand once in the nominative singular, with their meanings given in the first and third pādas uncompounded in the locative singular but in the second and fourth pādas as Dvandvas in the locative dual (vv. 679–703); (f) those of the first and third pādas stand twice in the nominative singular, with their meanings given uncompounded in the locative singular, while those of the second and fourth pādas stand once in the nominative singular, with their meanings given as Dvandvas in the locative dual (vv. 704–705); (g) they stand once in the nominative singular, with their meanings given uncompounded in the locative singular (vv. 706–734).

The order of lemmata within these parts and groups is arbitrary, even synonyms and cognates being often separated from one another. Adjectives are treated as neuter or masculine substantives. The gender follows from the endings of the homonyms or of predicate nouns related to them, or goes altogether unmarked. The new meanings in the fourth part, which are given in the locative singular almost throughout, have been set off by the particle *api*. The total number of senses is noted here and there by numerals. Fillers of all sorts are very common. The great length of many explanations — especially in the first part, where whole sentences deal with a single item (e.g. v. 121) — is due to the fact that Śāśvata planned his Anekārthasamuccaya as "a composition whose words are of clear meaning to suit the intellect of children" (*sphuṭārthapadavinyāsaḥ śiśūnāṃ pratipattaye*, introd. v. 3).

8. *Mahākṣapaṇaka's Anekārthadhvanimañjarī*

Not too remote from Śāśvata's Anekārthasamuccaya is Mahākṣapaṇaka's Anekārthadhvanimañjarī,[50] also called Anekārthapadamañjarī or simply An-

[50] First published at Jaipur, s. 1908 [1851/52]; lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73]; edited in the Saṃskṛtakośayugma, Karācī, ś. 1789 [1867/68]. All three texts are next to worthless; so are the references given in A. Borooah's Nânârtha Saṃgraha, Calcutta–London, 1884. A manuscript from the end of the 14th century, dated s. 1453 [1396/97], is found in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; see Puṇyavijayajī and A.P. Shah, [ABCIM 281], III, p. 976.

ekārthamañjarī, which is cited in Vallabhadeva's commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa and hence must have been written in the first half of the 10th century at the very latest.[51] It is a short homonymic dictionary extant in several versions of varying length and rather poor quality, all of which have one chapter each for articles covering a full, half, and quarter Śloka (*ślokādhikāra, ardhaślokādhikāra, pādādhikāra*); some add a fourth chapter on monosyllables (*ekākṣarakoṣa*) or on varia (*vividhādhikāra*), the former being also met with as a separate work, while others substitute for them further meanings of words already treated.[52] The sequence of lemmata within these chapters is guided by no principle. The definitions are in the style of the Śāśvatakoṣa. The metre is consistently Anuṣṭubh.

Because of its antiquity the Anekārthadhvanimañjarī aroused the interest of many a later lexicographer such as Gadasiṃha (or Durgasiṃha) and Harṣakīrti, who tried to amend the corrupt and often anonymously transmitted text to the best of their powers and had it released as a composition of their own.[53]

Mahākṣapaṇaka, who hailed from Kashmir, may or may not be the same as Kṣapaṇaka the author of an Uṇādisūtravṛtti mentioned by Ujjvaladatta (I 158). A personage of this name also ranks among the nine jewels of Vikramāditya's court.

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[51] Cf. P.K. Gode, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 109; the quotation concerned (*madhur daityo madhuś caitro madhuko 'pi madhur mataḥ*, v. 9cd) occurs at IX 59, which is IX 48 in the usual numbering, with a faulty *mṛdūḥ* in lieu of *mataḥ*. On Vallabhadeva's time see E. Hultzsch, Kalidasa's Meghaduta, London, 1911, p. IX.

[52] The chapter on monosyllables is found edited in Ramaṇīkavijaya, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964. The versions represented by the two Berlin codices No. 1697 and No. 1698 have been analysed by P.E. Pavolini, GSAI 5, p. 175.

[53] On Gadasiṃha's redaction, also entitled Nānārthadhvanimañjarī and collated with the Ajaya- (v.l. Amara-), Rudra-, Gaṅgādhara-, Dharaṇi-, and Ratnakoṣas, see R. Mitra, [ABCIM 219], II, p. 155, and J. Eggeling, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 291. An edition with Bengali translation was prepared by G. Tarkaratna, Koṣacandrikā, Ḍhākā, 1893; its first chapter is incorporated in G.V. Bhattacharyya's Koṣasaṃgraha, Calcutta, san 1314 [1907/08] ([6]1340 [1933/34]). For Harṣakīrti's Śabdānekārtha v. inf. (§ 34). The considerably enlarged recension of an anonymous Jain compiler indebted in the main to Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṃgraha and Uṇādigaṇavivṛti has been described from a Poona codex (No. 839 of 1886–92) by Th. Zachariae, WZKM 14, p. 325. Another version of unknown authorship, the Śabdaratnapradīpa, has been edited by H. Shastri, RPG 19, Jaipur, 1956; it figures among the sources of Sumati Gaṇi's Gaṇadharasārdhaśatakavṛtti dated *śara-nidhi-dinakara-saṃkhye* [1295] *vikrama-varṣe gurau dvitīyāyām / rādhe*, that is, Thursday, 7 or 21 April 1239 (col. v. 12; see Puṇyavijayaji, New Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, Jesalmer collection, Ahmedabad, 1972, p. 123).

9. *Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā*

The earliest lexicographer to be datable with some measure of certainty is Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha. According to L. Heller's careful investigation, he was born in the former half of the 10th century and compiled three manuals for the use of poets: first the Abhidhānaratnamālā on nouns; then, at the court of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Mānyakheṭa (c. 940–956), the Kavirahasya on verbs; and lastly, under the patronage of Muñja Paramāra alias Vākpati II of Dhārā (c. 974–995), the Mṛtasaṃjīvanī on metre.[54]

The Abhidhānaratnamālā or Halāyudhanāmamālā,[55] with which we are concerned here, is a chiefly synonymic dictionary divided into five sections *(kāṇḍa)* of not quite 900 stanzas and arranged under the topics heaven *(svarga)*, earth *(bhūmi)*, nether world *(pātāla)*, general *(sāmānya)*, and homonyms *(anekārtha)*. Its sources were Amaradatta, Vararuci, Bhāguri, Vopālita, et al. (I 2), from whom whole lines seem to have been borrowed literally,[56] so that it would prove a valuable aid in reconstructing the definitions of lost Koṣas. Its language is simple, easy to comprehend, and often prolix. Its verse is characterized by a multiplicity of metres otherwise unexampled in this branch of literature. The gender of words is recognizable only from their form or context. The homonyms of the fifth section are listed in free order and their senses given mostly in the locative, either one by one or in compounds; they are never repeated and seldom appear as Ekaśeṣas.

We know at least two commentaries *(ṭīkā)* on the Abhidhānaratnamālā: one in Sanskrit by Ājaḍa or Mahājaḍa, son of Tribhuvanapāla and grandson of Ḍallaṇipṛthvīpāla, who flourished some time between 1150 and 1400;[57] and one in Kanarese by Nāgavarman.[58]

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[54] L. Heller, Halâyudha's Kavirahasya, [Thesis,] Göttingen, 1894, p. 18.

[55] Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, s. 1930 [1873/74]. Edited with Sanskrit-English glossary by Th. Aufrecht, London-Edinburgh, 1861 (reprinted at Lahore, 1928); with English meanings and Sanskrit register-cum-glossary by J. Jośī, SBP 12, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1879 [1957/58].

[56] E.g. II 358cd, which is credited to Bhāguri in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā III 272.

[57] He quotes, among others, Kṣīrasvāmin and Maheśvara, who both lived in the first half of the 12th century; cf. Th. Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 26. The oldest manuscript we have was written in s. 1464 [1407/08]; cf. C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, [ABCIM 28], p. 408. Ājaḍa's scholia are perhaps identical with the Halāyudhaṭīkā referred to in Śrīvallabha Gaṇi's Sāroddhāra (§ 21); cf. Th. Zachariae, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 69. For their head- and tail-pieces see Jinavijaya, [ABCIM 136], II (B), app., p. 140; the codex in point, which is the only other unfragmentary witness traceable so far, is dated *saṃvat 1689 varṣe prathama-vaiśākha-sudi-trayodaśyāṃ tithau* [12 April 1633 O.S. or 22 April 1633 N.S.].

[58] Edited by A.V. Rao and H.S. Ayyangar, MUKS 6, Madras, 1940. — A third commentary, styled Tilaka, is noted by G. Bühler, [ABCIM 108], III, p. 34.

10. Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchī

A junior colleague of Halāyudha's at Dhārā was Dhanapāla, son of Sarvadeva and grandson of Devarṣi. Born at Viśālā (Ujjain) into a brahmin family of the Kāśyapagotra that had immigrated from Saṃkāśya in Madhyadeśa, he later moved to the capital of Mālava, where he won the favour of the king through his poetry and was ultimately made a convert to Jainism by his younger brother Śobhana.[59] He was a versatile man of letters who, judging from his oeuvre, wrote poems, hymns, tales, tracts, and scholia with equal fluency in Sanskrit and Prakrit.[60]

His principal contribution to lexicography is the Pāiyalacchī or Prākṛtalakṣmī,[61] a synonymic dictionary of 279 Āryā stanzas and the oldest extant Prakrit work of its kind. Composed for his younger sister Sundarī at Dhārā in s. 1029 [972/73],[62] when he still professed Brahmanism, it purports to be a "garland of nouns" (*nāmamālā*, v. 1) and "manual of provincialisms" (*desī*, v. 278); nevertheless it includes adverbs, verbal forms, particles, and affixes as well as Tatsamas and Tadbhavas, that is, terms adopted or derived from Sanskrit. Though intermediate colophons do not exist, or have not been transmitted, it embraces four distinct parts of uneven length, each new one beginning with a brief statement of the method used: the first (vv. 2–19) contains sets of synonyms requiring a verse; the second (vv. 19–94), such requiring a hemistich; the third (vv. 94–202), such requiring a line; the fourth (vv. 202–275), single words explained by one synonym and sporadically by a sentence extending over a hemistich. In the first three parts, the names of gods, saints, and sacred things have been treated at the outset. Beyond this, no steps have been taken towards bringing the various concepts into a system.

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[59] Cf. G. Bühler, SKAW 99, p. 568. According to tradition, the then sovereign of Mālava was Bhoja (c. 1018–1060), which is, however, an anachronism; Dhanapāla may have seen Bhoja on the throne and come to be a protégé of his when he was an old man, but he settled at Dhārā more than forty years before Bhoja's accession.

[60] Cf. H.R. Kapadia, [ABCIM 264], XIX 1, p. 65. Besides the works recorded there, some isolated verses of his have survived in Śārṅgadhara's Paddhati (1151), Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta (94, 1935), and Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī (II 27, XXX 3).

[61] Edited by G. Bühler, BKIS 4, p. 70 (published also separately: Göttingen, 1879), Vikramavijaya Muni, ĀVJG 11, Pāṭaṇ, s. 2003 [1946/47], and B.J. Dośī, PKJG 1, Baṃbaī, 1960; an anonymous edition appeared at Bhavnagar, s. 1973 [1916/17].

[62] V. 276ab: *Vikkamakālassa gae aüṇattīsuttare sahassaṃmi* "when one thousand and twenty-nine (years) of the Vikrama era had passed." — G. Bühler (BKIS 4, p. 73) assumed that Sundarī was identical with the Prakrit poetess Avantisundarī cited in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālāṭīkā (I 81 and 157); but R. Pischel (Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Straßburg, 1900, p. 40) is probably more correct in equating this lady with the wife of the dramatist Rājaśekhara, at whose request the latter's Karpūramañjarī was performed (I 11).

In addition to his Pāiyalacchī, Dhanapāla must have produced another Prakrit vocabulary; for out of the five quotations expressly assigned to him in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālāṭīkā, as many as four do not occur in the Pāiyalacchī at all, while the fifth is incongruous with it.[63] He also had to his credit a Sanskrit Koṣa utilized in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā and Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Vyākhyāsudhā.[64]

11. *Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī*

New impulses were given to lexicography by Yādavaprakāśa, who is said to be none other than the distinguished Advaitin and original preceptor of Rāmānuja (allegedly 1017–1137).[65] A native of the South Indian village of Tirupputkuḻi or Gṛdhrasaras near Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram), he was finally won over to the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy by his even more renowned erstwhile disciple.

His Vaijayantī,[66] a synonymic and homonymic dictionary in one, belongs to the most comprehensive Koṣas ever written; the manuscript presented by G. Bühler to the India Office Library, London, reports the number of Granthas — Anuṣṭubh verses and a couple of Āryā stanzas — to amount to 3,500.[67] It consists of 43 chapters *(adhyāya)* subsumed under eight sections *(kāṇḍa)* in the following way: (1) heaven *(svarga)*, (2) atmosphere *(antarikṣa)*, (3) earth *(bhūmi)*, (4) nether world *(pātāla)*,[68] (5) general *(sāmānya)*, (6) disyllables *(dvyakṣara)*, (7) trisyllables *(tryakṣara)*, and (8) sundries *(śeṣa)*. The synonymic sections I–V appear to have enjoyed little popularity, evidently because of their keeping to the usual pattern; they are scarcely adduced in commentatorial literature and have been preserved in but a few codices. Not so the homonymic sections VI–VIII, which mark a considerable advance on previous Anekārtha-

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63 Deś. I 141, III 22, IV 30, VI 101 (≠ Pāiy. 146), VIII 17. P.V. Ramanujaswami (The Deśīnāmamālā of Hemachandra edited with critical notes by R. Pischel, Poona, ²1938, introd., p. 14) would therefore rather posit two Dhanapālas, which is not exactly plausible.

64 Abh. II 101, II 105, III 350; cf. introd. v. 3. Vy. I 3.11.

65 Cf. S. Dasgupta, A History of Indian philosophy, III², Cambridge, 1952, p. 100.

66 Made known in Europe for the first time by A.F. Stenzler, De lexicographiae Sanscritae principiis, Vratislaviae, 1847, p. 18, who gleaned 46 passages of it from Mallinātha's commentaries on the Kirātārjunīya and the Śiśupālavadha. Edited by G. Oppert, Madras, 1893 (see Th. Zachariae's critical review in GGA 1894, p. 822), and by Haragovinda Śāstrī, JKPG 2, Varanasi, 1971 (reprint of Oppert's text).

67 Cf. G. Bühler, WZKM 1, p. 2; A.B. Keith, [ABCIM 164], II, pt. 1, p. 311. The editions have only 3,204 strophes and 23 isolated hemistichs.

68 On the geographical data found in the Deśādhyāya of the Bhūmikāṇḍa (III 1) and the Purādhyāya of the Pātālakāṇḍa (IV 3) see D.C. Ganguly, IHQ 19, p. 214.

koṣas. Here the lemmata are classified into disyllables (VI), trisyllables (VII), tetrasyllables, pentasyllables, varisyllables,[69] and monosyllables (VIII 1–5); these are rubricated into masculines, feminines, neuters, adjectives, and nouns of multiple gender; and these again are serialized in the alphabetical order of their first letters. The rest of the book is about homonymic synonyms (VIII 6),[70] homonymic indeclinables (VIII 7), uninflectible synonyms (VIII 8), and rules on gender (VIII 9).

Yādavaprakāśa records a good number of words and meanings that pertain to the Vedic language or to vulgar tongues. In some cases he adopts a non-standard (presumably South Indian) orthography. His mode of expression is concise and pellucid, being characterized by the avoidance of expletives and the employment of separative particles.[71] Dvandvas and Ekaśeṣas are plentiful, but Dvandvas with three and more members are made for clarity's sake only of uncompounded elements.[72] The senses of homonyms are placed either in the nominative (with Ekaśeṣas) or in the locative. Much trouble has been taken over the unmistakable indication of a word's gender; where this is not clear from the form or context, it is pointed out by a label.[73]

Though Yādavaprakāśa does not enumerate his sources, he undoubtedly excerpted certain manuals such as the Pālakāpyagajaśāstra for his paragraph on elephants (III 7.60–89), the Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra for that on actors (III 9.63–69), and the Āpastambīyagṛhyasūtra for that on girls unfit for marriage (III 6.47–54ab). Less conspicuous, and more laborious to prove, is his dependence on anterior vocabularies such as Vācaspati's Śabdārṇava and Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā.[74]

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[69] I.e. words of unequal length and two or more identical meanings, e.g. *nidāgha* and *gharma*, both of which may be used in the sense of heat, summer, and sweat (VIII 1.57ab).

[70] I.e. words of like denotation and connotation(s), e.g. *megha* "cloud" and its synonyms, all of which may be used in the sense of talc and nut-grass as well (VIII 6.4b).

[71] Viz. *punar, tu,* and *atha* (introd. v. 10*).

[72] Cf. introd. v. 10cd. Hence the true reading of VI 2.33cd is neither *valī madhyamarekhormijīrṇatvaggṛhadāruṣu* (Mallinātha on Śiśupālavadha III 53) nor *valir madhyagarekhormijīrṇatvag gṛhadāru ca* (Oppert, Haragovinda Śāstrī), it rather must be *valir madhyamarekhormir jīrṇatvag gṛhadāru ca*; on *madhyamarekhormi* see Th. Zachariae, BKIS 13, p. 105, and GGA 1894, p. 830.

[73] Viz. *strī* for feminines; *nā* or *pumān* for masculines; *ṣaṇ[ḍa], klī[ba],* or *napuṃ[saka]* for neuters; *triṣu* for adjectives; *trayī* for nouns of three genders; *astrī* for non-feminines; etc. (introd. vv. 6–7).

[74] Cf. G. Bühler, WZKM 1, p. 3, and Th. Zachariae, GGA 1894, p. 816. Zachariae refers for III 8.135–136 and V 1.37cd–38 to the Vācaspati quotations in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā IV 280 (~ fr. 184) and Mahendra's Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī II 144, for IV 1.60 to Halāyudhakoṣa III 41.

12. Bhoja's Nāmamālikā

Among the countless works of all sorts fathered upon the famous King Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā,[75] who reigned from about 1018 till about 1060,[76] there is also a short synonymic dictionary of 313 Ślokas styled Nāmamālikā or Bhojanighaṇṭu.[77] It deals in three sections with heaven, sky, earth, and kindred subjects (*svargādi-, gaganādi-, bhūmyādināmadheyaprakaraṇa*) and draws heavily on Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī, which seems to have been its chief source. As the Vaijayantī dates from about 1050, Bhoja's authorship of the Nāmamālikā, though maintained by the editors, is more than dubious.

13. Ajayapāla's Nānārthasaṃgraha

A veritable lexicographical boom set in at the turn of the 12th century. The first glossary to be named here is Ajayapāla's Nānārthasaṃgraha,[78] which is quoted once in Vardhamāna's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (dated 1140/41)[79] and many times in Sarvānanda's Ṭīkāsarvasva (dated 1159/60). From linguistic peculiarities such as the substitution of *b* for *v* in words like *vatsa, varāṭaka, valguka, vallabha, viṭapa, vitasti, vṛtta* etc. on the one hand, and of *v* for *b* in words like *barbara, bāṣpa, bimba, budha* etc. on the other, it appears that the writer was a Bengali by birth. Moreover, the invocation in v. 1 of the Śāstṛ or Teacher, which is a typical epithet of the Buddha, implies that he was a Buddhist by faith.

The Ajayakoṣa is a homonymic dictionary of about 750 stanzas[80] explaining between 1750 and 1800 words in the alphabetical order of their initial letters; words commencing with *kṣ* have been assembled in a special paragraph at the end. Indeclinables are not handled separately but listed after the nouns of each section. The articles invariably coincide with a couplet or a portion thereof; they are ranged for every single letter in a descending scale of length, though

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[75] Cf. E.D. KULKARNI, Śālihotra of Bhoja, Poona, 1953, p. XVIII.

[76] Cf. V.A. SMITH, The early History of India, Oxford, ^{4}1924, p. 410.

[77] Critically edited by E.D. KULKARNI and V.D. GOKHALE, SIAL 18, Poona, 1955. The colophons give the author's name as Ahirāja (perhaps an etymological nom de plume for Bhojarāja).

[78] Edited by T.R. CHINTAMANI, MUSS 10, Madras, 1937, who unfortunately has not taken into account the corrections and suggestions made by TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, pp. 14 and 45[5].

[79] J. EGGELING's text, p. 184.1–2 (~Ā 12cd); the second half of this couplet is missing in the extant Ajayakoṣa manuscripts, as are a number of other passages credited to Ajayapāla by later authors.

[80] Ślokas except for the opening stanza, which is in the Vaṃśasthavila metre. The above figure refers only to what has been transmitted in the codices.

some quarter-verse entries have been tagged to nominal full-verse entries that actually lack a fourth quarter (e.g. A 15). The lemmata always take the first place and stand in the nominative; their repetition is limited to cases of gender differentiation. The senses are uniformly given in the locative and never made into compounds of more than three members. Sources have not been specified, but most of the words treated are found with similar definitions in the Śāśvatakoṣa.

14. Dharaṇidāsa's Anekārthasāra

A second work of the early 12th century mentioned several times by Sarvānanda is Dharaṇidāsa's Anekārthasāra,[81] a homonymic dictionary of 1382 stanzas, 49 of which are not in the usual Anuṣṭubh metre but in at least 12 other metres.[82] While this goes to show that the author was — like Halāyudha — a skilled poet too,[83] such spellings as *kharba, gajāhbă, gandharba, garba, cārbī, dhrubă, pūrba, śrubă,* and *sīta* tend to prove that he was — like Ajayapāla — a native of East India.[84]

Dharaṇidāsa has divided his material according to three consecutive criteria: (1) the alphabetical order of the final consonants, with the conjunct *kṣa* classed as an independent letter after *ha*; (2) the increasing length of the appropriate entries, quarter-verse articles being followed by half-verse articles and these by full-verse articles; and (3) the increasing number of syllables, with a checked radical ultima reckoned as disyllabic. The last principle does not apply to gender variants of the same stem and to synonyms, such vocables as *pakṣin* and *pakṣiṇī* (l. 1577 sq.), *bhogin* and *bhoginī* (l. 1579 sq.), or *vivara, chidra,* and *randhra* (l. 2073) being recorded together in spite of their uneven length. The indeclinables are set off from the nouns and dealt with in a similar way at the end of the book. The homonyms consistently precede their meanings,[85] which occur in the nominative or locative (compounded and otherwise), but they are repeated at will to denote change of gender or provide padding. There is a

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[81] Edited from the India Office Library MS. 1019 by E.D. Kulkarni, DCBCSJS 9, Poona, 1968– .

[82] Viz. Indravajrā, Indravajrā-cum-Upendravajrā (Upajāti I), Rathoddhatā, Svāgatā, Indravaṃśa-cum-Vaṃśasthavila (Upajāti II), Drutavilambita, Vasantatilakā, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, Śikhariṇī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and Āryāgīti. Three verses are so corrupt as to be unscannable.

[83] According to H.H. Wilson, Works, V, London, 1865, p. 211, he is supposed to have written a panegyric styled Kāśīvirudāvalī.

[84] Though Wilson, loc. cit., makes him a brahmin of Kanauj.

[85] See l. 15: *yo nānārthaḥ samuddiṣṭa ādāv eva* ⟨*sa*⟩ *sarvataḥ* (thus read) "the homonym that (has been) explained (is found) everywhere at the beginning". Definitions in the printed text running contrary to this rule (e.g. ll. 143, 1381, 1406, 1589, 2229, 2413) have simply been malcorrected.

marked predilection for Ekaśeṣas. Many passages are borrowed literally or with only slight modifications from Amarasiṃha and Śāśvata, including the former's general reference to his own sources.[86]

15. *Dhanaṃjaya's Nāmamālā*

A third lexicon consulted in the Ṭīkāsarvasva (ad II 6.80a) and hence assigned to this period by former scholars is Dhanaṃjaya's Nāmamālā or Nighaṇṭusamaya.[87] In recent years, however, its date has become an object of controversy. Only one thing is certain from the book itself, and that is that it must be later than the Argumentation of Akalaṅka (fl. 750–800), the Exposition of Pūjyapāda, and the Poem of the Dviḥsaṃdhānakavi, which are said at I 201 to constitute "an unexcelled triad of gems" *(ratnatrayam apaścimam)*. Now as we know a Dhanaṃjaya, son of Vāsudeva and Śrīdevī, who has to his credit a Dvisaṃdhānakāvya called Rāghavapāṇḍavīya, and as our Dhanaṃjaya styles himself at I 202 a poet and "a crest-jewel of good poets" *(satkavīnāṃ śiromaṇeḥ)*, both authors have long been taken for the same man; but as Dhanaṃjaya's Dvisaṃdhānakāvya is already spoken of in Vādirāja's Pārśvanāthacarita (I 26) and Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (II fol. 444),[88] which were written in the first half of the 11th century — the former was finished in ś. 947, Krodhana, Kārttika śudi 3, corresponding to 27 October 1025 —,[89] his Nāmamālā would then have to be much earlier than generally held so far. Yet the identity of the two Dhanaṃjayas is in no way self-evident, and our lexicographer could easily have meant a namesake when talking of the Dviḥsaṃdhānakavi. What is more, there were at least five other Dvisaṃdhānakāvyas current in those days: that of Daṇḍin, that of Kavirākṣasa (called Kavirākṣasīya), that of Kavirāja (called Rāghavapāṇḍavīya), that of Saṃdhyākaranandin (called Rāmacarita), and that of Śrutakīrti Traividya (called Rāghavapāṇḍavīya),[90] and he might also have had in mind one of these poets, the last-mentioned being even a Jaina like

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[86] See l. 8a: *samāhṛtyānyatantrāṇi* "having collected other works" (~Ak. I 1.2a).

[87] Lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73] (first section only); printed at Āgrā, s. 1986 [1929/30]. Edited with Kanarese commentaries at Madras and at Bangalore, 1884; with Gujarati version by T.A. Pālītāṇā, Surat, [1912]; with Hindi version by Ghanaśyāmadās Jain, [1]Lalitāpur, v. 2442 [1916/17], [2]Bombay, v. 2451 [1925/26]; with Amarakīrti's Bhāṣya by S.N. Tripathi, JMJG 6, Banaras, 1950.

[88] Cf. V. Raghavan, JOR 19, p. 223.

[89] It is also found mentioned in Jalhaṇa's Subhāṣitamuktāvalī and Hari's Hārāvalī, in a verse going under the name of Rājaśekhara, whom P. Peterson ([ABCIM 274], II, p. 59) and S.E.V. Vira Raghavachariar (QJAHRS 2, p. 181) arbitrarily think to be the famous dramatist of the late 9th and early 10th centuries.

[90] Cf. E.V. Vira Raghavacharya in Commemorative Essays presented to K.B. Pathak, Poona, 1934, p. 374.

Akalaṅka and Pūjyapāda and thus fitting the context particularly well.[91] Just as inconclusive is the line of reasoning followed by M.K. Jain, who wants to push the terminus ante quem of Dhanaṃjaya's Nāmamālā back to ś. 738 [816/17] on the ground that its definition of *iti* (II 40) is met with in Vīrasena's Dhavalāṭīkā (fol. 387);[92] for he overlooks the possibility that Dhanaṃjaya and Vīrasena may simply have drawn on a common source.

Dhanaṃjaya was an adherent of the Digambara persuasion of Jainism. His dictionary, a rather unimportant compilation of some 250 stanzas, is concerned both with synonyms and with homonyms. The synonymic section *(śabdasaṃkīrṇaprarūpaṇapariccheda)* or Nāmamālā proper, whose length is stated in v. 202 to be 200 Ślokas but actually varies between 197 and 203 Ślokas plus a final Śārdūlavikrīḍita strophe, has been grouped by major topics — earth, water, man, sky, and heaven — only as far as v. 84, the rest being a medley of interchangeable terms strung together more or less at random. Even the classified portion betrays fairly unconventional principles; the concepts "arrow", "bow", and "flower", for instance, have all been subsumed under the concept "love" since any word meaning "arrow" or "bow" becomes an appellation of Kāma when compounded with a word signifying "flower" (vv. 78–80). The homonymic section *(śabdasaṃkīrṇasvarūpanirūpaṇa-* or *[śabda]vistīrṇaprarūpaṇaparicche-da)*, whose length fluctuates between 46 and 52 Ślokas, shows no traces of method and no unity of style whatsoever. Whether or not it is apocryphal, though, as a number of scholars would have it in view of the remark at I 202, we are unable to determine.[93]

The Dhanaṃjayakoṣa has been commented upon by Amarakīrti Traividya of the Sendravaṃśa, who must have lived after 1250 since he quotes Āśādhara's Mahābhiṣeka (ad I 122c). If M.K. Jain is correct in assuming that this Amarakīrti is identical with the personage described in Vardhamāna's Daśabhaktyādiśāstra as a co-pupil of one Viśālakīrti whose father Vidyānanda died in 1481, and that the Kalyāṇakīrti of his salutation is not distinct from the author of the Jinayajñaphalodaya completed in 1428, either of which remains yet to be

[91] His equation with Dhanaṃjaya, proposed by K.B. Pathak (IA 14, p. 14; JBBRAS 21, p. 1) and accepted by most subsequent writers, has convincingly been refuted by A. Venkatasubbiah, JBBRAS N.S. 3, p. 134.

[92] M.K. Jain in Tripathi's edition, introd., p. 11. Cf. Hiralal Jain, The Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali with the commentary Dhavalā of Vīrasena, I, Amraoti, 1939, introd., p. 61. The exact date of completion of the above Ṭīkā as elicited by Hiralal Jain from the corrupt colophon (ibid., p. 35) is ś. 738 Kārttika śudi 13, that is, 8 October 816.

[93] The oldest known manuscript, dated s. 1522 [1465/66], gives only the synonymic section; cf. Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, p. 790 (No. 6194). For a version differing much from the vulgate and falling into three sections *(śabdasaṃkīrṇarūpaṇa-, śabdasaṃkīrṇaprarūpaṇa-, śabdavistīrṇarūpaṇapariccheda)* see P.P.S. Sastri, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3869 (No. 5016).

proved, he belongs to the late 15th century.[94] Besides Amarakīrti's Bhāṣya, there exists an anonymous Ṭīkā in the Kanarese language.[95]

16. Dhanaṃjaya's Paryāyaśabdaratna

Not to be confused with the above Dhanaṃjaya, and still a perfect stranger as regards the time and circumstances of his life, is Dhanaṃjaya Bhaṭṭācārya. Besides a no longer extant Śabdenduśekhara, he composed a synonymic dictionary entitled Paryāyaśabdaratna and divided into three sections of 173, 722, and 86 stanzas that pertain to the upper, middle, and lower worlds respectively (*ūrdhva-*, *madhyama-*, *pātālalokasarga*).[96] Since the old manuscripts are all written in Telugu characters, the work seems to be of Āndhra provenance. It opens with an invocation of Śiva and shares a large number of otherwise unrecorded vocables with Maheśvara Miśra's Paryāyaratnamālā, itself a tripartite synonymic lexicon of uncertain date.[97] Except for one Gīti and two Vasantatilakā verses at the beginning, its metre is Anuṣṭubh throughout.

17. Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa

The earliest Sanskrit Koṣa to state the year of its compilation — viz. ś. 1033 [1111/12] — is Maheśvara Kavi's Viśvaprakāśa,[98] a homonymic dictionary of 2200-odd stanzas,[99] which exercised a very lively influence on the evolution of lexicography. Maheśvara Kavi, son of Śrī Brāhma and grandson of Keśava alias Kṛṣṇa, traces his family back to one Haricandra, who was the court

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[94] M.K. Jain, op. cit., p. 12. The above hypothesis is supported by the postscript to a Dvisaṃdhānakāvya codex preserved in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, in which a certain Amarakīrti declares that the codex in point was transcribed in s. 1548 [1491/92] by order of Pundit Vīñjhā and presented to King Brahmadeva, and that this occurred at Āhlādanapura under the reign of Mahuyāsa Sāhi; cf. Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, app., p. 283 (No. 4814). As our Amarakīrti cites a stanza from Dhanaṃjaya's Dvisaṃdhānakāvya in his scholium on I 63b, it may have been he whom the codex was copied for in the first place, and who passed it on when he did not need it any more.

[95] Cf. M. Rangacharya, [ABCIM 199], III, p. 1126 (Nos. 1613 and 1615).

[96] Critically edited by E.D. Kulkarni and M.C. Dikshit, DCBCSJS 12, Poona, 1971– .

[97] Cf. M. Rangacharya, [ABCIM 199], III, p. 1177 (No. 1735).

[98] Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74]. Edited by Ś. Sthavira and R.G. Bhaṭṭa, CSS 37, Benares, 1911, and with Telugu commentary by M.A. Śāstrī, Kotipalli, 1913. All entries concerning monosyllables have been collected in Ramaṇīkavijaya, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964. — The date is given in the last stanza as *rāmânala-vyoma-rūpaiḥ śaka-kāle 'bhilakṣite* "at the Śaka time indicated by (the word-numerals) Rāma, fire, sky, and specimen [1033]."

[99] Ślokas with a few Indravajrā, Upajāti, and Vasantatilakā strophes at the beginning and end.

physician of King Sāhasāṅka and author of a lost commentary on the Carakasaṃhitā;[100] another forefather, Śrī Kṛṣṇa by name, served as doctor to the royal household at Gādhipura. Besides the present work, he wrote a Sāhasāṅkacarita, which has not been handed down to us. His sources were Bhogīndra, Kātyāyana, Sāhasāṅka, Vācaspati, Vyāḍi, Viśvarūpa, the Amara- or Amalamaṅgala, Śubhāṅga, Vopālita, and Bhāguri.

We learn these interesting facts from a valuable introduction of 23 verses that precedes the main part *(mukhakhaṇḍa)* of the Viśvaprakāśa and also elaborates on the organization of the lexical matter,[101] which falls into two sections *(pariccheda)*: homonymic nouns *(anekārthaśabda)* and homonymic indeclinables *(anekārthāvyaya)*. The nouns are grouped first by the alphabetical order of their final consonants (from *ka* to *kṣa*) and then by the increasing number of their syllables (from one to six), thus covering 33 chapters *(varga)* of up to six paragraphs each;[102] the indeclinables are given only in the alphabetical order of their final consonants, with those formed by single vowels ranking foremost. There is no strict sequence of articles on the paragraph level, but Th. Aufrecht found out that frequently nouns with kṛt- and uṇādi-affixes come before secondary derivations and nouns with the same suffix or with rhyming ends stand together;[103] it may have been this labyrinthine structure at its base which caused Medinikara to speak of the Viśvaprakāśa as "showing many faults" (*bahudoṣa*, colophon v. 3), though he did not think it beneath his dignity to draw very heavily on it. The catchwords, lastly, always take the first place and have their senses in the locative with them; they are said to be iterated only for marking a new gender, though at least some instances seem to prove the opposite.

A Viśvaṭīkā is quoted several times in Śrīvallabha Gaṇi's Sāroddhāra (§ 21). Judging by the references at hand, it offered illustrations from literature for all the meanings listed under a lemma: e.g. Kālidāsa's Kumārasaṃbhava IV 1 and Bhartṛhari's Subhāṣitatriśatī III 18 for the two significations of *moha* — viz. *mūrchā* "daze" and *avidyā* "ignorance" (v. 2077).[104]

To the Viśvaprakāśa proper has been added a supplement styled Śabdabhedaprakāśa,[105] which treats in four sections *(nirdeśa)* numbering 133, 34, 59, and

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[100] Cf. C. Vogel, Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 14.

[101] Its authenticity has been questioned on insufficient grounds by E. Haas, ZDMG 30, p. 648. The benediction is held to be Buddhist in tenor by H. P. Śāstrī, [ABCIM 51], VI, p. cxxxiii.

[102] There is no chapter for the letter *ṅa*. Note that a consonant as stem-final is counted as a syllable of its own.

[103] Cf. Th. Aufrecht, [ABCIM 238], I, p. 188.

[104] See K. Vedāntavāgīśa and R. Sena's edition of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Calcutta, s. 1934 [1877/78], p. 53, n. 6. H.P. Śāstrī (op. cit., p. cxxxiv) mentions a second commentary, Parameśvara Bhaṭṭa's Viśvanighaṇṭu, manuscripts of which, he says, have turned up in South India.

[105] Edited by A. Borooah, Nânârtha Saṃgraha, Calcutta-London, 1884, p. 486, and with Jñānavimala Gaṇi's commentary by A. Kümmel née Bender, SOA 4, Leipzig, 1940.

44 stanzas[106] of words with orthographic variants in general *(śabdabheda)*, words with *ba* and *va* variants *(oṣṭhyadantauṣṭhyavakārabheda*[107]*)*, words with *śa*, *ṣa*, and *sa* variants *(ūṣmabheda)*, and words with gender variants *(liṅgabheda)*. As the Śabdabhedaprakāśa seldom goes into details of meaning and the Viśvaprakāśa often does not help out of the problems posed thereby, numerous passages would be quite unintelligible but for the excellent scholia of Jñānavimala Gaṇi, a Śvetāmbara Jaina of the Kharataragaccha and disciple of Bhānumeru Gaṇi, who lived at Vikramanagara or Bikaner under the reign of King Rājasiṃha (1573–1611). Completed on Sunday, 25 June 1598 (O.S.) or 5 July 1598 (N.S.),[108] they relate to points of derivation, etymology, word-formation, gender, and semasiology and abound in extracts from the appropriate authorities. As the most important of these are singled out the Viśvaprakāśa, Bhāguri, Vijayanta (i.e. Yādavaprakāśa), Vyāḍi, Śāśvata, and the Pathyāpathyanighaṇṭu; many others, like Hemacandra, are passed over in the preface for brevity's sake and cited only in the body of the text. A colophon of 29 verses sets forth Jñānavimala Gaṇi's spiritual lineage *(svakīyagurupaṭṭāvalī)*.[109]

18. Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Hārāvalī, Ekākṣarakoṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa, and Varṇadeśanā

Certainly prior to ś. 1081 [1159/60] wrote Puruṣottamadeva, the author of some 15 works on grammar and lexicography, whom Sarvānanda quotes rather copiously in his Ṭīkāsarvasva. As he does not seem to have been known yet to Hemacandra (1088–1172),[110] nor Hemacandra to him, he flourished in all probability during the first half of the 12th century. This tallies fully with Sṛṣṭidhara's affirmation that his Bhāṣāvṛtti on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī was made by order of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal,[111] whose accession to the throne marks the commencement of a new era reckoned in medieval epigraphs and manuscripts variously from 1106, 1119, and 1130 A.D.[112] He was consequently

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[106] The spectrum of metres used ranges from Anuṣṭubh over Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, three types of Upajāti, Rathoddhatā, Drutavilambita, Vaṃśastha, Vasantatilakā, and Śārdūlavikrīḍita to Āryā.

[107] Lit. "discrimination between the labial and the dentilabial *va* letter."

[108] Cf. F. KIELHORN, IA 19, p. 39.

[109] Cf. P. PETERSON, [ABCIM 274], II, pp. 64 and 124; M.M. PATKAR, IHQ 19, p. 179. (Peterson misreads the chronogram to mean s. 1694 [1637/38], Patkar gives the Christian date wrongly as Sunday, 9 July 1598.)

[110] The Amaraśeṣa adduced in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇimālāṭīkā III 34 and IV 201 is distinct from Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 434 and 237.

[111] Sṛṣṭidhara's Bhāṣāvṛttyarthavivṛti on the salutation (which is explicitly addressed to the Buddha); see S.C. CHAKRAVARTI's text edition, Rajshahi, 1918, introd. pp. 5 and 11.

[112] On the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era see C. VOGEL's forthcoming paper.

neither a descendant of Lakṣmaṇasena's minister Halāyudha belonging to a period not before the latter half of the 13th century,[113] nor a kshatriya of Orissa and sovereign of Kalinga residing at Cuttack in the 15th century.[114] On the contrary, there can be little doubt about his having been a Bengali by birth and a Buddhist by creed.[115]

Of the Koṣas owed to Puruṣottamadeva, the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa[116] is a supplement to Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. This it follows closely as to the general layout except in the Nānārthavarga, where the homonyms are fixed in the alphabetical sequence of their first letters also. Furnishing in 1053 stanzas a large number of uncommon words, it constitutes by its very nature one of the most memorable and useful lexica ever written. Noteworthy are above all the many typically Buddhist terms and Prakrit vocables;[117] the former may have been taken over from Vyāḍi, whose Utpalinī is mentioned in the final verse. Now and then the want of a commentary is badly felt. The measure is Anuṣṭubh interspersed with various other metres.[118]

The Hārāvalī[119] is similar to the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa in scope and content but differs

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[113] Cf. A. Borooah, Nânârtha Saṃgraha, Calcutta-London, 1884, pref. p. 14.

[114] Cf. Abhidhâna-sangraha, I 2, Bombay, 1889, introd. (reproducing a passage to this effect from a book in Marathi called Kavicaritra). The king in point is Puruṣottamadeva, son of Kapilendra of the Gajapati dynasty, who ruled from 1470 to 1497; see R.D. Banerji, IA 58, p. 28.

[115] Not a Jaina, as H.H. Wilson (Works, V, London, 1865, p. 211) has it.

[116] Its editio princeps is contained in a collection of four Koṣas (Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa and Hārāvalī, Medinikara's Nānārthaśabdakoṣa) prepared at the instance of H.T. Colebrooke, provided with indices by V. Miśra, and type-set by B. Rāma in Kalikattā, s. 1864 [1807/08].

Lithographed in the Saṃskṛtakośa, Mumbaī, ś. 1776 [1854/55], and in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73]. Edited by Ś. Tarkapañcānana, Koṣaratnākara, I, Dacca, 1870; with a commentary "applicable to the students", Bangalore, 1883; by Durgâprasâd, K.P. Parab, and Śivadatta, Abhidhâna-sangraha, I 2, Bombay, 1889 (see Th. Zachariae, GGA 1894, p. 823, n. 3); and with a commentary styled Sārārthacandrikā by C.A. Seelakkhandha Mahathera, Bombay, 1916 (see Th. Zachariae, GGA 1929, p. 460).

For the homonymic section in particular, which has been incorporated into A. Borooah's Nânârtha Saṃgraha, compare Th. Zachariae's review thereof in GGA 1885, p. 378.

[117] Cf. H.H. Wilson, Works, II, London, 1862, p. 27; Th. Zachariae, GGA 1888, p. 853. — Th. Zachariae, BKIS 10, p. 122, and 14, p. 303.

[118] Viz. Upendravajrā (1, 2), Upajāti (46, 181), Rathoddhatā (32, 69), Svāgatā (70), Vaṃśasthavila (88), Sragviṇī (55, 60), Vasantatilakā (8, 30, 151, 1034, 1044), Mālinī (29, 103), Śārdūlavikrīḍita (47, 202), Āryā (40, 109, 284, 548–551, 776, 1029, 1045), Gīti (82, 244, 266, 1039[?], 1041[?]), Upagīti (552), Āryāgīti (1031), and an unidentifiable Jāti (1037, 1038).

[119] For the editio princeps and the lithographic prints see note 116. Edited anonymously, Bahrampur, ś. 1791 [1869/70]; by Ś. Tarkapañcānana, Koṣaratnākara, I, Dacca, 1870; by B.C. Vasaka, Calcutta, 1872; anonymously, Calcutta, 1886; and by Durgâprasâd, K.P. Parab, and Śivadatta, Abhidhâna-sangraha, I 3, Bombay, 1889.

from it in the mode of presentation, turning back to the old custom of serializing the entries after their length. Thus the synonymic section divides into rows of words extending over a whole, a half, and a quarter stanza, the homonymic section into items embracing a hemistich and a single line. Though it does not comprise more than 280 verses, 15 of which are reserved for the introduction and the colophon, Puruṣottamadeva required twelve years to collect the material and a further twelve months to complete the opuscule (v. 276f.), availing himself of the help of his friends Janamejaya and Dhṛtisiṃha (v. 279). Of earlier dictionaries he consulted Vācaspati's Śabdārṇava, Vyāḍi's Utpalinī, and Vikramāditya's Saṃsārāvarta (v. 275; see § 3). The dominating Ślokas are again complemented by sundry other strophes.[120] In what manner the Bṛhaddhārāvalī referred to by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānuji Dīkṣita[121] was connected with our text can only be conjectured. The Hārāvalīkoṣaṭippaṇī of Mathurānātha Śukla unearthed a hundred years ago[122] has remained a mere title so far.

Special glossaries are the Ekākṣarakoṣa in 32 (or 38) Ślokas on monosyllables,[123] the Dvirūpakoṣa in 75 Ślokas on words spelt in two ways,[124] and the

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120 Viz. Śaśilekhā (192[?]), Indravajrā (108), Indravajrā-cum-Upendravajrā or Upajāti I (142, 277, 280), Indravajrā-cum-Vaṃśasthavila or Upajāti II (58), Upendravajrā-cum-Indravaṃśā or Upajāti III (53), Drutavilambita (11), Vaṃśasthavila (14), Vasantatilakā (2–6, 13, 15), Mālinī (1, 8), Śārdūlavikrīḍita (278), Āryā (69, 76, 78, 115[?]), Gīti (91), and Aupacchandasika or Mālabhāriṇī (279). One couplet (63) is so corrupt as to be unscannable.

121 Scholia on Amarakoṣa I 1.35 (40).

122 Cf. [ABCIM 232], I, p. 614.

123 For the lithographic prints see note 116. Often published together with the Śabdarūpāvali (Bombay, 1883, 1889, 1891; Benares, 1922, 1925). Edited by Ś. Tarkapañcānana, Koṣaratnākara, I, Dacca, 1870; by K. Viṭsarakāra, Calcutta, san 1294 [1887/88] (with Bengali translation); by Durgâprasâd, K. P. Parab, and Śivadatta, Abhidhâna-sangraha, I 4, Bombay, 1889; by G. Tarkaratna, Koṣacandrikā, Ḍhākā, 1893 (with Bengali translation); by Kṛṣṇamohana Śarman, Bṛhatśabdarūpāvali, Bombay, ś. 1825 [1903/04]; by G. V. Bhaṭṭācāryya, Koṣasaṃgraha, Calcutta, san 1314 [1907/08] and san 1331 [1924/25]; by an anonym, Sholapur, 1908 (with Marathi meanings); by A. Mahāpātraṅka, Cuttack, 1910 (with Oriya translation; together with Dhvanimañjarī, Śabdamālā, and Śivastuti); by M. Dīkṣita, Benares, 1910 (4th edition, Moradabad, 1916; together with Śabdarūpāvali); by T. Vidyāratna, Tantrik Texts, I, Calcutta-London, 1913 (revised and enlarged by P. Bhaṭṭāchārya, 21937); and by Ramaṇīkavijaya, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

124 Lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha (see note 116), where it is the second tract of this title; the first Dvirūpakoṣa given there bears Puruṣottamadeva's name wrongly. Edited by Durgâprasâd, K. P. Parab, and Śivadatta, Abhidhâna-sangraha, I 5, Bombay, 1889; by S. P. V. Ranganadhaswamy, GPS [5], Vizagapatam, 1896 (here fathered upon Śrīharṣa); by G. V. Bhaṭṭācāryya, Koṣasaṃgraha, Calcutta, san 1314 [1907/08]; and by Sāgarānanda Sūri, DLJP 92, Surat, 1946 (details in note 135). This glossary is sometimes called Śabdabhedaprakāśa and must not then be mixed up with Maheśvara's work of that title (§ 17).

Varṇadeśanā in prose on the accurate form of words with interchanging *kha/kṣa, ha/gha, ya/ja, va/na, ba/va, śa/ṣa, sa/ṣa,* and *ha/ḍa.*[125]

19. Maṅkha's Anekārthakoṣa

Countless excerpts in the Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī of Mahendra Sūri, who was active in the second half of the 12th century (§ 22), set the terminus ad quem for Maṅkha's Anekārthakoṣa,[126] a homonymic lexicon of 1007 stanzas brought to light in Kashmir by G. Bühler. We therefore have good reason to argue that its author is none other than the poet and politician Maṅkha(ka), son of Manmatha's son Viśvavarta and pupil of Ruyyaka, who wrote the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and held the office of foreign minister under King Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1128–1149).[127] The plan of the Maṅkhakoṣa is just like that of Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (§ 17),[128] with the sole difference that the indeclinables are given in the same order as the nouns; contrary to the overall pattern, however, the definition of the sacred syllable *om* winds up the final chapter. Quite a few words and senses are registered here for the first time.[129] As sources are named Bhāguri, Kātya, Halāyudha, Hugga, Amarasiṃha, Śāśvata, and the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu (v. 3). The metre is Anuṣṭubh save for two Āryās and one Gīti (vv. 2–4).

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[125] Still unpublished; see J. Eggeling, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 295. The Ūṣmabheda, Jakārabheda, and Śa-, Ṣa-, Sa-, Ṇakārabhedas credited to Puruṣottamadeva may be nothing but later versifications of parts of the Varṇadeśanā; see R. Mitra, [ABCIM 219], VI, p. 231, II, p. 311, I, p. 197, and J. Eggeling, ibid., p. 291. The Dhvanimañjarī printed at Cuttack in 1903 and twice in 1910 in Oriya characters will have to be studied by somebody who reads that script. A Laghuratnakoṣa bearing Puruṣottamadeva's name has been edited by P. Jhā, Darbhaṅgā, ś. 1812 [1890/1891] (together with Gadasiṃha's Ūṣmaviveka).

[126] Edited with extracts from the commentary by Th. Zachariae, SSL 3, Vienna-Bombay, 1897 (reprinted as KSS 216, Varanasi, 1972). By way of introduction see Zachariae's Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Maṅkhakośa, SKAW 141, 5, Wien, 1899, which treat in great detail of the manuscripts (p. 1), their orthographic peculiarities (p. 8), the constitution of the text (p. 13), the sources of the Koṣa (p. 16), new, unknown, or rare words found in it (p. 22), the authorship of the Ṭīkā (p. 34), unknown or rare words met with in the commentary (p. 45), and writers and works quoted in it (p. 46).

[127] Cf. G. Bühler, [ABCIM 269], p. 50; M.A. Stein's English version of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, Westminster, 1900, introd. p. 12; E. Kreyenborg, Der XXV. Gesang des Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam des Maṅkha, [Thesis,] Münster, 1929, p. 11; B.C. Mandal, ABORI 57, p. 160.

[128] Unfortunately, the editor considered it expedient to omit the intermediate colophons of the manuscripts.

[129] Cf. Th. Zachariae, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 71.

Our dictionary had little circulation beyond the frontiers of Kashmir; leaving aside the Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī, we find it utilized only in Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's commentaries on Jagaddhara's Stutikusumāñjali and Vāsudeva's Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya. What renders it most valuable is a Ṭīkā that is extant — though defective — for the first two thirds of the text and appears to be from the pen of Maṅkha himself; the irretrievable loss of the last third is compensated for to some degree by Mahendra's ample borrowings from it. Relegating the customary etymological explanations and lexicographical parallels to the background,[130] the scholiast seeks to document the individual meanings —unless they are in current use *(prasiddha)* or of a purely technical nature — with passages culled from literature; whenever he fails to do so, he frankly says that an instance has yet to be searched for *(anveṣya, gaveṣaṇīya)*.[131] Many of the 3400-odd illustrations extant have not been traced to their origins so far.

It may be remarked in concluding that, if Ratnakaṇṭha is entirely reliable,[132] Maṅkha must have composed a synonymic wordbook also.

20. Hemacandra

The uncrowned king of medieval lexicography, and the dictionary-maker next to Amarasiṃha in reputation, is Hemacandra Sūri, who has four fundamental Koṣas to his credit: the Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā on synonyms, the Anekārthasaṃgraha on homonyms, the Deśīnāmamālā on Prakrit words, and the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa on botanical terms. Meant as appendices to his grammar, the Siddhahemacandra written at the direction of Siddharāja Jayasiṃha, they sum up, due to their compilatory character, the achievements of native scholarship in this field till the early 12th century. Moreover, surviving in a number of excellent old manuscripts, they afford no little help in the textual criticism of previous Koṣas that have been less well transmitted.

Hemacandra's worldly name was Cāṅgadeva. He was born at Dhandhukā, a town in Ahmedabad District of Gujarat near the Kathiawar border, in s. 1145.[133] His parents, Cāciga and Pāhinī, belonged to the Śrīmoḍha subdivision

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[130] Part of the scattered references of this sort — notably those to Ajaya(pāla), Kātya, (Kṣīra)svāmin, the (Mahā)bhāṣyakāra, Medini(kara), Rāyamukuṭa, and the Viśva(prakāśa) — are even interpolated since they do not occur in both the codices extant.

[131] Cf. Th. Zachariae, Çâçvata's Anekârthasamuccaya, Berlin, 1882, p. XIII; Beiträge, p. 70.

[132] See his Laghupañcikā on Stutikusumāñjali I 5, II 14, and V 12.

[133] To be quite accurate, in the night of the full-moon day of Kārttika of that year, corresponding either to Thursday, 14 October 1087, or — more likely — to Wednesday, 1 November 1088 (not 1 December 1088, as H. Jacobi is misquoted by J. Hertel, Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariśiṣṭaparvan, Leipzig, 1908, p. 1, n. 2).

of the Vāṇiā or merchant caste originating from Moḍherā. Probably in s. 1154 [1097/98], he took holy orders at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) under the clerical name of Somacandra, coming to be a Jaina monk of the Vajraśākhā and Candrakula of the Koṭikagaccha, the famous Śvetāmbara order known afterwards as the Tapāgaccha. For the following twelve years, which he passed with his teacher Devacandra, he studied not only the usual subjects of Jaina theology but also such branches of Brahmanical lore as logic, dialectics, grammar, and poetics, thus laying the basis for his many-sided oeuvre. In s. 1166 [1109/10], he was ordained a Sūri and assumed the ecclesiastical name of Hemacandra. The greater part of his life he spent at Aṇahillapāṭaka or Pattana (Anhilwar-Patan), the ancient capital of Gujarat, where he was patronized by the Caulukya kings Jayasiṃha (1093–1142) and Kumārapāla (1142–1173) and nominated court pundit about s. 1194 [1137/38]. He died of fasting, aged 84, in s. 1229 [1172/73].[134]

21. Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi

Hemacandra's synonymic dictionary, the Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā or simply Abhidhānacintāmaṇi,[135] has 1542 verses of varying metre and falls into

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[134] Cf. G. BÜHLER, DKAW 37, p. 171 (released separately under the title: Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra, des Schülers des Devachandra aus der Vajraśâkhâ, Wien, 1889, and translated into English by M. PATEL, SJS 11, Śāntiniketan, 1936). For Hemacandra's spiritual lineage see the colophon to his Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra (H.M. JOHNSON's translation, VI, Baroda, 1962, p. 355).

[135] Editio princeps made by order of H.T. COLEBROOKE, indexed by V. MIŚRA, and printed by B. RĀMA, Kalikattā, s. 1864 [1807/08] (together with Anekārthasaṃgraha). Other editions: by O. BOEHTLINGK and C. RIEU, St. Petersburg, 1847 (with German translation, copious extracts from Hemacandra's commentary, and Śeṣas); in Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74] (lithograph with V. MIŚRA's index); by K. VEDĀNTAVĀGĪŚA and R. SENA, Calcutta, s. 1934 [1877/78] (with brief commentary and Śiloñcha); by ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Abhidhâna-sangraha, II 6, 7, 11, Bombay, 1896 (with meagre extracts from Hemacandra's commentary, Śeṣas, and Śiloñcha; see TH. ZACHARIAE, WZKM 16, pp. 16 and 29); Bombay, s. 1956 [1899/1900] (with Śeṣas and Śiloñcha); by N.C. BHAṬṬĀCĀRYYA, Calcutta, san 1314 [1907/08] (with Bengali translation); by HARGOVINDDAS and BECHARDAS, indices by JAYANTA VIJAYA, YJG 41, 42, Bhavnagar, v. 2441–46 [1915/16–1920/21] (with Hemacandra's commentary in full); by V.J. KAŚELKAR, MKJMM 21, Bombay, s. 1981 [1924/25] (with Ratnaprabhā commentary, Śeṣas, and Śiloñcha as well as Sudhākalaśa's Ekākṣaranāmamālā); by SĀGARĀNANDA SŪRI, DLJP 92, Surat, 1946 (with Śeṣas and Śiloñcha as well as Hemacandra's Liṅgānuśāsana and Nighaṇṭuśeṣa, Sudhākalaśa's Ekākṣaranāmamālā, and Puruṣottamadeva's Dvirūpakoṣa, here styled Śabdabhedaprakāśa); and by HARAGOVINDA ŚĀSTRĪ, VSS 109, Varanasi, 1964 (with Maṇiprabhā Hindi commentary). The earliest known codex, written in s. 1314 [1257/58], is found in the Saṅghavī Pāḍā Bhaṇḍār at Pattan; see L.B. GANDHI, [ABCIM 259], I, p. 66.

five sections *(kāṇḍa)* centring around the chief gods *(devādhideva)* or Jinas, the gods *(deva)* of Hinduism and Buddhism, mortals *(martya)*, animals *(tiryac)*, and hell-dwellers *(nāraka)*; a sixth is about general terms *(sāmānya)* such as abstracts, adjectives, and indeclinables (I 20–23).[136] The animals, in particular, which include all that moves or lives (even elements and plants), are arranged by the increasing number of their sense-organs (from one to five) and by their natural habitat (land, air, water). As in the Amarakoṣa, *atha* and *tu* are employed to mark a break (I 23). For the gender, Hemacandra refers to his own Liṅgānuśāsana (I 19).[137] Special interest attaches to the author's classification of words as (1) "grown" *(rūḍha)*, i.e. underived, having a purely customary meaning, like *ākhaṇḍala* "Indra"; (2) "relative" *(yaugika)*, sc. to quality, action, or association, having a purely etymological meaning and bearing substitution of synonyms, like *nīlakaṇṭha* "blue-necked, Śiva," *sraṣṭṛ* "creator, Brahman," or *bhūpāla* "earth-guardian, king"; and (3) "mixed" *(miśra)*, having both a customary and an etymological meaning and not bearing substitution of synonyms, like *gīrbāṇa* "speech-arrowed, god" (I 1–19). Though Hemacandra is silent about his sources, there can be no doubt that he drew in the main on Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā, and Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī.[138]

The Abhidhānacintāmaṇi has been commented upon several times, in the first place by Hemacandra himself, who sifted a good many books for the purpose, notably the lost Sanskrit lexica of Vāsuki Vyāḍi, Dhanapāla, and Vācaspati (introd. v. 3).[139] A second set of scholia, the Viviktanāmasaṃgraha, limits itself to points of etymology; it is by Bhānucandra Gaṇi, pupil of Sūracandra of the Tapāgaccha, who flourished in the patriarchate of Vijayasena Sūri (1595 to 1614) and was decorated by the Emperor Akbar (1556–1605) with the style of Upādhyāya.[140] A third exposition, the (Nāma)sāroddhāra, was made by Śrīvallabha Gaṇi, pupil of Jñānavimala Pāṭhaka of the Kharataragaccha, at Yo-

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[136] Cf. H.T. Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, II², London, 1873, p. 185.

[137] Edited by R.O. Franke, Göttingen, 1886 (with Hemacandra's Vivaraṇa and German translation); by Śivadatta and K.P. Parab, Abhidhâna-sangraha, II 10, Bombay, 1896 (with excerpts from Hemacandra's Vivaraṇa); in YJG 2, Kāśī, 1905 (with Avacūri); and by Sāgarānanda Sūri, v. sup. (note 135).

[138] Cf. Th. Aufrecht, Halayudha's Abhidhanaratnamala, London-Edinburgh, 1861, p. VI; G. Bühler, WZKM 1, p. 4; Th. Zachariae, GGA 1894, pp. 817 and 822.

[139] His sources are listed in Boehtlingk's preface, p. VII, and Jayanta Vijaya's index volume, p. 317. The oldest manuscript, dated *saṃvat 1337 varṣe vaiśākha-śudi 5 gurau* [Thursday, 24 April 1281], is kept in the Saṅghavī Pāḍā Bhaṇḍār at Pattan; see L.B. Gandhi, [ABCIM 259], I, p. 74. The Avacūri of an unknown writer noticed by R. Mitra, [ABCIM 219], IX, p. 148, proves to be a short version of Hemacandra's Ṭīkā.

[140] Cf. H.P. Śāstrī, [ABCIM 219], X, p. 151, and [ABCIM 51], VI, p. 318; Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, p. 782.

dhapura (Jodhpur) in s. 1667 [1610/11] under the joint spiritual rule from 1592 of Jinacandra Sūri (1555–1613) and Jinasiṃha Sūri (1613–1617) and the secular rule of Sūrasiṃha (1594–1619); it is an abstract of the glossarist's own Nāmanirṇaya, which fact led to its striking title.[141] A fourth explanation, the Vyutpattiratnākara, was written by Devasāgara Gaṇi, pupil of Ravicandra Paṇḍita of the Añcalagaccha, in s. 1686 [1629/30] under the pontificate of Kalyāṇasāgara Sūri (1613–1661) and the dominion of Lāṣa of Hāllāra.[142] Further interpretations are owed to Kuśalasāgara Gaṇi, Devavimala Gaṇi, Narendra Sūri, Śubhavijaya Gaṇi, and Sādhuratna.[143]

Probably while gathering the material for his commentary, Hemacandra also put down addenda to the basic text, which he published in a postscript of 208 Ślokas and later quoted at the appropriate places (ad I 74d, 79a, 86d, etc.);[144] these metrical addenda, culled from Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī and various lost Koṣas, are known under different titles such as Śeṣāḥ, Śeṣākhyanāmamālā, Śeṣasaṃgrahanāmamālā, and Śeṣasaṃgrahasāroddhāra. Another appendix, the Śiloñchanāmamālā, was furnished by Jinadeva Munīśvara (or Sūri), pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri of the Laghukharataragaccha; it is a versification in 140 Anuṣṭubh, Āryā, and Gīti stanzas of the prose additions found in Hemacandra's Ṭīkā, and dates from s. 1433 [1376/77]. Like the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi itself, both supplements have been carefully annotated by Śrīvallabha Gaṇi (in s. 1654 or 1597/98).[145] Still another annex, the Śeṣasaṃgrahanāmamālā of Sādhukīrti

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[141] Cf. R.G. BHANDARKAR, [ABCIM 273], IV, pp. 126 and 438. For the authors and works cited see C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 157], p. 167. Two contemporary codices, dated respectively s. 1679 [1622/23] and *saṃva⟨t⟩ 1689 varṣe prathama-vaiśākha-vadi-ṣaṣṭhī-dine guru-vāre* [Thursday, 21 March (O.S.) or 31 March (N.S.) 1633], are stored in the L.D. Institute of Indology at Ahmedabad; see PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, [ABCIM 281], II, app., pp. 394 and 396. — Śrīvallabha's teacher Jñānavimala is well known for his Śabdabhedaprakāśaṭīkā (§ 17).

[142] Cf. A. WEBER, [ABCIM 20], II 1, p. 256.

[143] Cf. H.D. VELANKAR, [ABCIM 330], I, p. 13; V. RAGHAVAN, [ABCIM 231], I^2, p. 293. Kuśalasāgara Gaṇi, pupil of Lāvaṇyaratna Gaṇi, belonged to the Jinabhadra branch of the Kharataragaccha and transcribed a codex of the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi at Sūryapura in 1699; see TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 186a.

[144] Except for the introductory stanza, the first hemistich of which is identical with that of the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, they can thus be reconstructed from his Ṭīkā (as was actually done by Boehtlingk-Rieu and Śivadatta-Parab). A medieval codex of s. 1453 [1396/97] has been catalogued by M. WINTERNITZ and A.B. KEITH, [ABCIM 238], II, p. 121b. — On the supplements to Hemacandra's synonymic dictionary see TH. ZACHARIAE's detailed study in WZKM 16, p. 13.

[145] For Śrīvallabha's Śeṣasaṃgrahaṭīkā or -dīpikā see G. BÜHLER, [ABCIM 108], III, p. 26, and [ABCIM 267], p. 16. It was prepared *varṣe śatānandamukhêndriyêśa-putrānanâbja-pramite variṣṭhe / aṣṭamy-ahe māsi nabhasya kṛṣṇe śreṣṭhe pure Vikrama-nāma-dheye // śrī-Vikrama-vaṃśôdbhava-sad-vikrama-Rājasiṃha-nṛpa-rājye* "in the most excellent year measured by (the word-numerals) Brahman's face, sense, Kārttikeya's face, and moon [1654], on the day of the eighth *(tithi)*, in the dark month of Nabha [Śrāvaṇa], in the most beautiful town bearing Vikrama's name

Upādhyāya,[146] devotes the bulk of its roughly 1500 Ślokas to the names of trees, shrubs, etc.; its compiler, a pupil of Jinasāgara of the Kharataragaccha, disputed before the Emperor Akbar (1556–1605) and received from him the honorific of Vādīndra.[147]

There exist some close imitations in order and diction of the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi. Among these, the Pañcavargasaṃgrahanāmamālā of Śubhaśīla Gaṇi, pupil of Munisundara Sūri (1379–1446, pontiff from 1442) of the Tapāgaccha, contains, despite its greater brevity, much extra matter from Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṃgraha and other works.[148] Conversely, the anonymous Bṛhadabhidhānacintāmaṇi has been inflated with superfluous and inept additions to no less than 2428 stanzas.[149]

[Bikaner], under the rule of the powerful King Rājasiṃha [1573–1611], scion of Śrī Vikrama's race" (col. v. 21 sq.; letter from Prof. R.N. Dandekar, Poona). — Note that all Śeṣa codices entitled Śeṣasaṃgrahasāroddhāra have been mistaken for such of Śrīvallabha's scholia in V. RAGHAVAN, [ABCIM 231], I², p. 294a.

Jinadeva's Śiloñchanāmamālā and Śrīvallabha's Vṛtti thereon have been edited by VINAYASAGARA, LDS 46, Ahmedabad, 1974. The basic text was composed *Vaikrame 'bde tri-viśvêndra-mite rādhâdya-pakṣatau* "on the first lunar day of the former half of Rādha [Vaiśākha] in the Vikrama year measured by (the numerals) three, universe, and Indra [1433]" (v. 139). The commentary was completed *vedêndriya-rasa-pṛthvī-saṃkhye varṣe su-Nāgapura-nagare / madhu-māsâdye pakṣe mūlârke saptamī-tithyām* "in the year numbered by (the word-numerals) earth, taste, sense, and Veda [1654], in the beautiful town of Nāgapura [Nagor], in the former half of the month of Madhu [Caitra], on Sunday, the seventh lunar day, when (the moon stood in the mansion of) Mūla" (col. v. 21), that is, on 19 March (O.S.) or 29 March (N.S.) 1598.

146 Cf. G. BÜHLER, [ABCIM 269], p. XLIX. According to TH. ZACHARIAE, WZKM 16, p. 14, the manuscript was written *saṃvat 1744 varṣe dvitīya-āṣāḍha-sudi 8 budha-vāre,* which proves wrong on calculation; for while there was in fact a second Āṣāḍha in northern s. 1744 expired, the eighth lunar day of its bright fortnight ended on 8 July (O.S.) or 18 July (N.S.) 1687, which was a Friday and not a Wednesday, as stated. [The date does work out properly for the first Āṣāḍha, corresponding in that case to Wednesday, 8 June (O.S.) or 18 June (N.S.) 1687.]

147 See the colophon to Sādhusundara Gaṇi's Dhāturatnākara (reproduced by P. PETERSON, [ABCIM 274], V, p. 156, and recapitulated by C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 157], p. 159), v. 16.

148 Cf. C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 157], p. 169. In his Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha of s. 1521 [1464/65], Śubhaśīla Gaṇi calls himself also a pupil of Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri (born 1407, pontiff from 1460); see A. WEBER, [ABCIM 20], II 3, p. 1112. A fairly old codex, dated s. 1653 [1596/97], is kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona; see R.G. BHANDARKAR, [ABCIM 273], VI, p. 107.

149 Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 186.

22. *Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṃgraha*

Hemacandra's homonymic dictionary, the Anekārthasaṃgraha,[150] consists of 1829 Ślokas disposed in seven sections *(kāṇḍa)*. The first six sections, subsumed under the name Ṣaṭkāṇḍī and regarded as the Anekārthasaṃgraha proper, are concerned with monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables, tetrasyllables, pentasyllables, and hexasyllables respectively; the seventh section, conceived as a supplement to the Ṣaṭkāṇḍī and hence also entitled Anekārthaśeṣa, records the indeclinables. The lemmata of each section are arranged first according to their final consonants, then according to their initial letters, and lastly — a novelty in Indian lexicography — according to the vowels found after their initial consonants or consonant clusters.[151] Divergently from these rules, cognate and other close synonyms are combined in one article without heed to their length and ending. Thus the monosyllables, for instance, are presented in the following order (I 5–16): *ka, kha, go, tvac nyañc ruc vāc, jū, jña, sat, bha bhā bhū (bhūmi), ma mā kim, jyā dyu dyo, ra rai drū dhur pur śrī srū, va div sva, dṛś viś, tṛṣ (tṛṣṇā tarṣa) tviṣ, bhās mās*. All in all, about 3900 vocables are explained in a most succinct and precise manner, with the usual fillers conspicuously absent.[152] The

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[150] For the editio princeps see note 135 (corrections by TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 78). Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74]. Incorporated into A. BOROOAH's Nânârtha Saṃgraha, Calcutta-London, 1884 (critique by TH. ZACHARIAE, GGA 1885, p. 384). Edited by TH. ZACHARIAE, SSL 1, Vienna-Bombay, 1893 (with ample extracts from Mahendra's commentary; index in J. KIRSTE's edition of Hemacandra's Uṇādigaṇasūtra, SSL 2, Vienna-Bombay, 1895; epilegomena in SKAW 129, Wien, 1893, No. 11); by ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Abhidhâna-sangraha, II 8, Bombay, 1896 (with sparse extracts from Mahendra's commentary; criticized by TH. ZACHARIAE, GGA 1898, p. 473); by J. HOSHING, index by G. PĀṆḌEYA and J. JOSHI, KSS 68, Benares, 1929 (see TH. ZACHARIAE's review-article, WZKM 37, p. 248); and by JINENDRAVIJAYA GAṆI, HPJG 59, Lākhābāval, 1972 (with Mahendra's commentary in full and index). The first section is also contained in RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964. — The hitherto oldest witness of the text and the commentary, originating from s. 1286 [1229/30], belongs to the Jinabhadra Collection of palm-leaf codices deposited at the Fort of Jesalmer; see PUNYAVIJAYAJI, New Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, Jesalmer collection, Ahmedabad, 1972, p. 131.

[151] It is noteworthy in this connection that Hemacandra spells *brahman* (II 271) and *brāhmī* (II 321) with an initial *b* but *brāhmaṇa* (III 215–216), *brahmaṇya* (III 494), and *brahmabandhu* (IV 154) with an initial *v*. The entry *raktapādo mataṅgaje syandane ca* (IV 141) between *catuṣpada* and *janapada* is obviously corrupt for *cakrapādo* etc., as appears from the variant reading in the Bombay edition (v. 1513); cf. Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī VIII 1.22 *cakrapādau rathagajau*, Ajayapāla's Nānārthasaṃgraha XVI 13 *cakrapādo rathe gaje*, and Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa IV 5.219–220 *cakrapādas tu nā rathe gaje dve*.

[152] Their presence is a safe clue to interpolations; see TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 81; GGA 1885, p. 393; WZKM 37, p. 250. — A list of Prakrit and dubious Sanskrit words defined by Hemacandra or adduced in his definitions has been drawn up by ZACHARIAE, Beiträge, p. 65.

homonyms are accentuated at will by apposite particles *(atha, tu, punar)* and repeated only to denote a change of gender; they always precede their senses (I 2), which in turn occur oftenest in the locative but sometimes in the nominative as well. Meanings obtained by etymological word-splitting, such as *na-aka* "painless" for *nāka* "heaven, atmosphere,"[153] are excluded because of the sheer infinitude of possibilities (I 4). About Hemacandra's sources we are still in the dark; the striking similarities of Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa with the Anekārthasaṃgraha may be ascribed either to a direct relationship between the two or to their dependency upon a common model.[154]

An important aid for the correct interpretation of the Anekārthasaṃgraha is Mahendra Sūri's Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī, the value of which as the only intact commentary on a major homonymic dictionary can hardly be overestimated.[155] It opens as if it were from the pen of Hemacandra himself (introd. v. 1):

> *paramātmānam ānamya nijânekārthasaṃgrahe |*
> *vakṣye ṭīkām Anekārthakairavākarakaumudīm ||*
>
> "Having bowed before the Supreme Spirit, I shall set forth the commentary Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī on my own Anekārthasaṃgraha."

The closing lines of the individual sections, too, fix its authorship on Hemacandra, e.g. —

> *ity ācārya-śrī-Hemacandra-viracitāyām Anekārthakairavākarakaumudîty-abhidhānāyāṃ svôpajñânekārthasaṃgraha-ṭīkāyām eka-svara-saṃgraha-kāṇḍaḥ prathamaḥ samāptaḥ ||*
>
> "Thus in the self-commentary on the Anekārthasaṃgraha composed by Ācārya Śrī Hemacandra (and) entitled Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī the section embracing the monosyllables — the first — (is) complete."

In a four-stanza colophon to the second, third, and seventh sections, however, which is already met with in the Jesalmer manuscript of s. 1286 [1229/30] and cannot therefore be "of doubtful genuineness," as R. Śarmā claims,[156] it is stated with equal certainty (vv. 1–2):

> *śrī-Hema-sūri-śiṣyeṇa śrīman-Mahendra-sūriṇā |*
> *bhaktiniṣṭhena ṭīkeyaṃ tannāmnaiva pratiṣṭhitā ||*
> *samyagjñānanidher guṇair anavadheḥ śrī-Hemacandra-prabhor*
> *granthe vyākṛtikauśalaṃ vilasati kvāsmādṛśāṃ tādṛśam |*
> *vyākhyāmaḥ sma tathāpi taṃ punar idaṃ nāścaryam antarmanas*
> *tasyājasram api sthitasya hi vayaṃ vyākhyām anubrūmahe ||*

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[153] Cf. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī VI 3.75 and Chāndogyopaniṣad II 10.5.

[154] Cf. R. O. FRANKE, Hemacandra's Liṅgânuçâsana, Göttingen, 1886, p. XIV (discussing the analogous connection between the Viśvaprakāśa and Liṅgānuśāsanavivaraṇa); P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 61.

[155] Cf. TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 75.

[156] R. ŚARMĀ, Kalpadrukośa of Keśava, I, Baroda, 1928, p. XXXVIII. We are also at a loss to see why he calls it "faulty in metre and grammar;" if anything it is mediocre in style.

"By Śrī Hema(candra) Sūri's pupil, Śrīman Mahendra Sūri, (who is) intent on devotion, this commentary (has been) prepared in his [Hemacandra's] name.[157] In the book of Śrī Hemacandra Prabhu, (who was) a storehouse of right knowledge (and) unlimited in virtues, mastery of explanation reveals itself. How (could) such (mastery be expected) of people like us? Even so we have expounded it. But this (is) not astonishing; for we (simply) repeat the exposition of him (who is) for ever existent in our heart."

In other words, the Anekārthakairavākarakaumudī was committed to paper by Mahendra on the basis of what Hemacandra had imparted to him before his death. Every single scholium pertains to four different aspects of the homonym in point: (1) its derivation with the help of Hemacandra's grammar; (2) its gender and, where necessary, its adjectival nature; (3) its senses, often with indication of their number; and (4) its usage as manifesting itself in literature. This last aspect is of course the most interesting one, though all but three of the nearly 7000 illustrations are given without references and many of them are unverifiable;[158] some, notably those of usages left unattested in the Maṅkhaṭīkā, even seem to be fabricated. Only seldom does Mahendra — unlike Maṅkha — own up to having searched for a suitable passage in vain; he just skips over such cases and says in the colophon (v. 3):

yal lakṣyaṃ smṛtigocaraṃ[159] *samabhavad dṛṣṭaṃ ca śāstrāntare*
tat sarvaṃ samadarśi kiṃ tu katicin no dṛṣṭalakṣyāḥ kvacit |
abhyūhyaṃ svayam eva teṣu sumukhaiḥ śabdeṣu lakṣyaṃ budhair
yasmāt samprati tucchakaśmaladhiyāṃ jñānaṃ kutaḥ sarvataḥ ||

"Whatever instance was found in the range of traditional literature and seen in any other book, all that was taken into consideration. Yet (there are) numerous (words) of which an instance was nowhere seen. In (the case of) these words, then, an instance (will) now (have) to be sought out by well-read scholars themselves. How (could) universal knowledge (be expected) of the small- and weak-minded?"

The lexica and lexicographers he utilized were the Viśvaprakāśa, Śāśvata, Rabhasa, Amarasiṃha, Maṅkha, Hugga, Vyāḍi, Dhanapāla, Bhāguri, Vācaspati, Yādhava(prakāśa), and the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu (introd. vv. 2–3). Mahendra, whose Bhaviṣyadattākhyāna was produced prior to s. 1214 [1157/58],[160] belonged to the personages present at the first recitation in s. 1241 [1184/85] of Somaprabha's Kumārapālapratibodha, in the tail-piece of which he is described

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[157] Thus G. Bühler, DKAW 37, p. 212; P. Peterson, [ABCIM 274], I, p. 52, takes *pratiṣṭhā* here to mean "to inscribe with," which is less satisfactory.

[158] Cf. Th. Zachariae, Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekârthasaṁgraha, Wien, 1893, p. 12. The three references (at III 217, III 545, IV 179) are to Māgha's Śiśupālavadha (V 24, XII 18) and Bāṇa's Harṣacarita (p. 13.1–2 ed. Führer).

[159] Thus the Jesalmer MS.; *smṛtigocare* edd.

[160] Its Cambay MS. dates from *saṃvat 1214 varṣe mārga-sudi 5 śukre* or Friday, 8 November 1157. Cf. P. Peterson, [ABCIM 274], I, p. (67).

as "a swan at the foot-lotuses of Hema(candra) Sūri" (*Hema-sūri-pada-paṅkaja-haṃsa*, v. 10).[161]

A second commentary, the Upasargavṛtti by Siddhicandra Gaṇi of the Tapāgaccha,[162] and a 116-Śloka supplement, the Anekārthasaṃgrahaśeṣa by Jinaprabha Sūri of the Laghukharataragaccha,[163] still await publication. The latter author's known period extends from s. 1349 [1292/93] to s. 1390 [1333/34]; he was a pupil of Jinasiṃha Sūri, who established the Laghukharataragaccha in s. 1331 [1274/75], and the teacher of Jinadeva Munīśvara, who compiled the Śiloñchanāmamālā in s. 1433 [1376/77].[164]

23. *Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā*

Hemacandra's Prakrit dictionary, the Deśīnāmamālā or Deśīśabdasaṃgraha called Rayaṇāvali (Skr. Ratnāvalī),[165] was first brought to public notice in 1873 by G. Bühler.[166] It is divided into eight chapters *(varga)* counting 783 Āryā stanzas all told and treating of words that start with a vowel, guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental, labial, semivowel, and sibilant or aspirate respectively. Each chapter is subdivided into as many paragraphs as there are letters to the class in question, and each paragraph is once more subdivided into two parts: words with only one meaning *(ekārtha)* and words with more than one meaning *(anekārtha)*. On this lowest level, the lexemes are then registered in the alphabetical sequence of their first vowels and in the order of the increasing number of their syllables, synonyms of unequal length being grouped together here and there for brevity's sake. The vocabulary of the Deśīnāmamālā is expressly limited to "provincialisms" *(deśī)*, a term by which Hemacandra understands (1) words

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[161] The Kumārapālapratibodha was finalized *śaśi-jaladhi-sūrya-varṣe śuci-māse ravi-dine sitâṣṭamyām* "in the year of the moon, the ocean, and the sun [1241], in the month of Śuci [Āṣāḍha], on Sunday the eighth of the bright half" (col. v. 14), that is, on 17 June 1184.

[162] Cf. H.D. VELANKAR, [ABCIM 330], I, p. 10b.

[163] Cf. H.D. VELANKAR, [ABCIM 33], I, p. 31.

[164] Cf. TH. ZACHARIAE, WZKM 16, p. 23. On Jinadeva's Śiloñcha see § 21.

[165] Edited with critical notes by R. PISCHEL, BSS 17, Bombay, 1880 (second edition with introduction, critical notes, and glossary by P.V. RAMANUJASWAMI, Poona, 1938), and with readings, introduction, and index of words by M. BANERJEE, Calcutta, 1931. The earliest surviving copy, transcribed *saṃvat 1298 varṣe āśvina-śudi 10 ravau* [Sunday, 5 October 1242], is deposited in the Saṅghavī Pāḍā Bhaṇḍār at Pattan; see L.B. GANDHI, [ABCIM 259], I, p. 60, and P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 31 (who miscalculated the Julian equivalent as Sunday, 15 September 1241).

[166] G. BÜHLER, IA 2, p. 17. For details of the following presentation see R. PISCHEL, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Strassburg, 1900, p. 39, and RAMANUJASWAMI's circumstantial introduction. Certain aspects are dealt with by P.L. VAIDYA, ABI 8, p. 63, and H.C. BHAYANI, Studies in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā, Varanasi, 1966.

not traced to Sanskrit origin in his grammar, (2) words traced to Sanskrit origin in his grammar but not known to Sanskrit lexica in their Prakrit sense — unless, indeed, that sense is merely due to secondary or metaphorical use, and (3) words current in standard Prakrit from time immemorial (I 3–4).[167] In spite of this clear-cut definition and its relatively strict application, which gained him superiority over his predecessors, Hemacandra gives quite a few Tatsamas and Tadbhavas in his work, be it for ignorance, negligence, or hesitance in swimming against the stream.

The Deśīnāmamālā is accompanied by a Sanskrit self-commentary of great merit, in which Hemacandra endeavours above all to explain his reasons for including or omitting certain words and for adopting or discarding certain spellings and meanings. Though this involves a good deal of polemics, he seldom divulges the names of the authorities with whom he is in harmony or at variance; those referred to specifically are the Prakrit lexicographers Abhimānacihna (with his scholiast Udūkhala), Gopāla, Devarāja, Droṇa, Dhanapāla, Pādalipta, Rāhulaka, and Śīlāṅka, the Prakrit poets Avantisundarī and Sātavāhana, the Sanskrit writers Bharata and Bhāmaha, and the Kālāpas or Kātantra grammarians, two anonymous quotations being from Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā. In cases of doubt he states the alternatives and leaves the decision to others. An exceptional position is held by the verbal substitutes *(dhātvādeśa)*, which he does not himself take to be Deśīs but — in deference to his forerunners — lists in his glosses after the words corresponding with them as to initial and length, some having even found a place in the basic text. The indeclinables are handled in like manner. A curious thing are the verses added in exemplification of the synonymic articles at the end of the relevant scholia. Each of them incorporating as a rule all the words that happen to be taught in one stanza, they are not exactly witty and often ludicrous; yet they serve their purpose as mnemotechnical aids and also give much indirect information on points of accidence and semasiology. Here is one such verse by way of illustration (I 6):

> *kayaaṃguṭṭhī akke ayagaayakkāriappaṃ ahaharaṇaṃ /*
> *jamaakkasame kamaḍhāgae vi karuṇāparaṃ ṇama supāsaṃ //*
>
> "Having made a *veil*, O *sister*, you shall bow before Supārśva, the *father* of the enemy of the *demons* or *daemons*, who dispels *sorrow* (and) abounds in pity even towards the *demon Balarāma* — the like of Yama's *messenger*!" (Ekārthas italicized.)

A combined Prakrit index and Sanskrit glossary to the Deśīnāmamālā, in which the lexical items are arranged successively according to their extent (from two to eight syllables), initial letters, and original sequence, was prepared by one Vimala Sūri prior to s. 1640 [1583/84].[168]

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[167] On Persian and Arabic loan-words see K.A. Row, IA 46, p. 34, and G.A. Grierson, JRAS 1919, p. 235.

[168] Cf. Ramanujaswami's introduction, p. 1, and H.D. Velankar, [ABCIM 330], I, p. 181a (who mentions a Pattan manuscript of s. 1640 or 1583/84). — In S. Jhā's

24. Hemacandra's Nighaṇṭuśeṣa

Hemacandra's botanical vocabulary, the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa,[169] is an appendix to the Tiryakkāṇḍa of the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, to be exact, to the Vanaspatikāya or plant portion thereof (IV 197–267), which he left undealt with in his Śeṣasaṃgraha. Since it is already mentioned in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā (ad IV 267), it must be older than this commentary.[170] The book is in six sections *(kāṇḍa)* totalling 401 Ślokas and focussing on trees *(vṛkṣa)*, shrubs *(gulma)*, creepers *(latā)*, vegetables *(śāka)*, grasses *(tṛṇa)*, and grains *(dhānya)*. Curiously enough, the subsection on lotuses (vv. 327–334) and the whole section on grains (vv. 386–401) have been taken over almost verbatim from the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi itself (IV 226–248), possibly for the sake of completeness. Scholia on the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa, dating prior to s. 1667 [1610/11], are again owed to Śrīvallabha Gaṇi,[171] who gives for each and every synonym series the etymology of its individual items on the basis of Hemacandra's grammar, passages from technical and exegetical literature (many of them still unidentified), and the Rajasthani term popular in his day.[172]

English version of PISCHEL's Grammatik (Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, ²1965, p. 41), Hemacandra is also credited with a supplement to his Deśīnāmamālā, which is pure fancy; for in actual fact Pischel says of the Deśīnāmamālā that "according to p. 1,4 sqq. [of his original edition] it was written after the grammar [viz. the Siddhahemacandra], and according to p. 1,3 it is a supplement to it."

169 Edited by ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Abhidhâna-sangraha, II 9, Bombay, 1896 (with one major and several minor gaps); by SĀGARĀNANDA SŪRI, v. sup. (note 135); and by PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, LDS 18, Ahmedabad, 1968 (with Śrīvallabha's Ṭīkā). A Pattan palm-leaf manuscript copied *saṃvat 1280 varṣe kārttika-vadi* ⟨...⟩ *gurau* was noticed by P. PETERSON, [ABCIM 274], V, p. 23; it is unfortunately wanting in L.B. GANDHI's catalogue, [ABCIM 259].

170 As regards the chronology of Hemacandra's lexicographical works, G. BÜHLER (DKAW 37, pp. 186, 201, 202, 211) assigns the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and Anekārthasaṃgraha to the time between the completion of Hemacandra's grammar and Jayasiṃha's death (c. 1140/41–1142/43), the Śeṣasaṃgraha, Nighaṇṭuśeṣa, and Deśīnāmamālā to the years between Jayasiṃha's death and Hemacandra's acquaintance with Kumārapāla (1142/43 – c. 1157/59), the Deśīnāmamālāṭīkā to the span between his admission to Kumārapāla's court and the preliminaries of Kumārapāla's conversion (c. 1157/59), and the Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā to the interval between Kumārapāla's conversion and Hemacandra's death (1159/60–1172/73).

171 They are quoted in his Nāmasāroddhāra (§ 21); see C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 157], p. 167.

172 Inasmuch as Jain monks used to wander from place to place but nevertheless could stay at one place for a longer period, taking on its language and customs, it would be rash to call him a native of Rajasthan on the strength of these glosses. What we do know about him is that he was living in Rajasthan in the late 16th and early 17th centuries; for he wrote his Śeṣasaṃgrahaṭīkā at Bikaner in s. 1654 [1597/98], his Śiloñchanāmamālāṭīkā at Nagor in the same year, and his Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā at Jodhpur in s. 1667 [1610/11] (§ 21).

25. Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa

Uncertainty prevails as to the age of Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa or Rājarājīya,[173] which was composed at the instance of King Rājarāja Cola, son of King Kulottuṅga Cola; for this statement of the introduction (I 1.15–20), unequivocal though it may appear at first sight, could apply to four different rulers: Rājarāja Mummaḍi Cōḍa and Rājarāja Cōḍagaṅga, sons of Kulōttuṅga I (1070–1120), who reigned as viceroys in Vēṅgī from 1076 to 1078 and 1084 to 1089 respectively; Rājarāja II (1146–1173), son of Kulōttuṅga II (1133–1150); and Rājarāja III (1216–1260), son of Kulōttuṅga III (1178 to 1216).[174] While T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī and R. Śarmā abstain from identifying the author's patron, V. Krishnamacharya is inclined to decide in favour of Rājarāja Cōḍagaṅga, but on rather inconclusive evidence.[175]

Keśavasvāmin, son of Kṛṣṇapuradeva and pupil of Bhavaskanda, was a Sāmavedin of the Vatsagotra hailing from the Coromandel village of Rājendracola (I 1.10–14). His Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa is a homonymic dictionary in six sections *(kāṇḍa)* concerned successively with monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables, tetrasyllables, pentasyllables, and hexasyllables; feminines of consonantal stems taking the suffix *-ī*, however, which are lengthened by one syllable, must be looked up under the consonantal stems proper: *satī* under *sat*, *mahatī* under *mahat*, etc. Each section falls into five chapters *(adhyāya)* devoted one after another to feminines, masculines, neuters, adjectives, and nouns of multiple gender and arranged alphabetically by first vowels or consonants-cum-vowels, clusters ranking on a par with simple consonants. Chapter I 1 is mostly prefatory, giving the genesis of the book (vv. 1–20), an invocation to Śiva (vv. 21–22), and notes for the user (vv. 23–44); only the last 18 stanzas treat of monosyllabic feminines. The homonyms stand in the nominative, the senses in the locative, but their order is free; as a safeguard against ambiguity, the general rules (I 1.26–35) lay down that words followed by *tu* and *punar* or following *atha* and *atho* must not be linked to what goes before. In the Nānāliṅgādhyāyas, the gender is marked by labels, put at will in the nominative or locative, such as *strī* for feminines, *nṛ* or *puṃs* for masculines, *klī[ba]*, *nap[uṃsaka]*, or *ṣaṇḍa* for neuters, *dvi* for epicenes, and *tri* for adjectives (not, as elsewhere, for nouns having three genders); if one gender is prohibited, say the feminine by *astrī*, the other two are permitted. Like the Vaijayantī (§ 11), which it thus resembles in many ways, the Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa also provides a large number of Vedisms. Its mode of expression tends to prolixity. A unique phenomenon is the citation by name and word of about thirty authorities belonging to the

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[173] Edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, TSS 23, 29, 31, Trivandrum, 1913.

[174] Cf. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cōḷas, Madras, ²1955, pp. 319 and 301, 351 and 348, 417 and 375.

[175] Cf. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, preface, p. 1; R. Śarmā, Kalpadrukośa of Keśava, I, Baroda, 1928, p. XXXIX; V. Krishnamacharya, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 345.

whole compass of Sanskrit literature, whether scientific or not; those on lexicography and grammar comprise Ajaya(pāla), Amaradatta, (Amara)siṃha, the Bhāgavṛtti, Bhāguri, Bhojarāja, Dhanaṃjaya, Halāyudha, Jayāditya, Kātya, Kṣīrasvāmin, Mādhavācārya, Rabhasa(pāla), Sajjana, Śākaṭāyana, Śāśvata, the Vaijayantī, and Vararuci. With its 5801 verses, which are in the Anuṣṭubh metre save for one Āryāgīti (I 1.22), Keśavasvāmin's work constitutes the biggest Anekārthakoṣa known so far. It is not infrequently quoted in Mallinātha's commentaries.

26. Medinikara's Nānārthaśabdakoṣa

A dictionary available to scholars since the pioneer days of Indian studies and now attributable with confidence to the 13th century is Medinikara's Nānārthaśabdakoṣa or Medinīkoṣa.[176] As it mentions Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (col. v. 3), dated ś. 1033 or A.D. 1111/12 (§ 17), and is mentioned in Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara's Varṇaratnākara (VI 1), written in the first quarter of the 14th century, there is good reason to place it somewhere between 1200 and 1275.[177] Medinikara calls himself a son of Prāṇakara[178] and the author of a — belletristic — Ṣaṭśatagāthākoṣa (col. v. 6), which has not passed down to us.

The overall plan of the Nānārthaśabdakoṣa, a homonymic lexicon of nearly 2400 stanzas (Ślokas and a few Jātis),[179] comes very close to that of Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (§ 17), deviating from it in just two minor points: the inclusion of a single-line Ṅāntavarga and the omission of a separate Kṣāntavarga. On the chapter and paragraph levels, however, Medinikara makes three major changes for the better: he alphabetizes the nouns of equal length by their first

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[176] For the editio princeps of s. 1864 [1807/08] see note 116. Lithographed in the Saṃskṛtakośa, Mumbaī, ś. 1776 [1854/55], and in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73]. Edited by S. MUKHOPADHYAYA, Calcutta, 1869 (see TH. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, Berlin, 1883, p. 8); by G. PĀṆḌEYA, Calcutta, s. 1929 [1872/73]; by J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta, 1872 ([2]1897); and by an anonym, KSS 41, Benares, 1916 (2nd and 3rd editions by J. HOSHING, 1940 and 1968). Integrated in A. BOROOAH's Nânârtha Saṃgraha, Calcutta-London, 1884 (see TH. ZACHARIAE, GGA 1885, p. 383). The paragraphs concerning monosyllables have been collected in RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA's Ekākṣaranāmakoṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

[177] Thus P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 281. The quotation *kam iti prakṛtya "mastake ca sukhe 'pi cê"ti avyayaprakaraṇe Medinīḥ* in Maṅkhaṭīkā 10 (~XXXIV 52b) appears to be interpolated. — Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara's Varṇaratnākara, an encyclopaedic work in the Maithili language of North Bihar, has been edited by S.K. CHATTERJI and B. MISRA, BI 262, Calcutta, 1940.

[178] Variant readings are Paṇḍunakara and Pāṭūṇakara. Cf. J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 288, note.

[179] G. BÜHLER, [ABCIM 108], III, p. 40, records a manuscript containing 2592 verses.

syllables (in the manner of Hemacandra), indicates their gender not only by form and context but also by special terms (in the manner of Amarasiṃha, yet without differentiating between nouns of triple gender and adjectives), and orders the indeclinables the same way as he does their nominal counterparts (in the manner of Maṅkha).[180] As his sources he names: the Utpalinī, Śabdārṇava, Saṃsārāvarta, and Nāmamālā; the Koṣas of Bhāguri, Vararuci, Śāśvata, Vopālita, Rantideva, Hara, Amara(siṃha), Śubhāṅka, Halāyudha, Govardhana, Rabhasapāla, Rudra, Amaradatta, Ajaya(pāla), Gaṅgādhara, and Dharaṇi(dāsa); the Hārāvalī, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Ratnamālā, and Viśvaprakāśa; the Koṣas of Vāgbhaṭa, Mādhava(kara), Vācaspati, Dharma, Vyāḍi, and Tārapāla; the word- and gender-books of Viśvarūpa and Vikramāditya; the gender-books of Kātyāyana, Vāmana, and Candragomin; the grammar of Pāṇini, the Purāṇas and Kāvyas, etc. (col. vv. 1–5). Despite this array of authorities, however, for his definitions too he bases himself in the main on Maheśvara, whose Viśvaprakāśa he brands as "showing many faults" (*bahudoṣa*, col. v. 3), to be sure, but whose phraseology he often clings to most slavishly. From the fact that he lists the Utpalinī, Śabdārṇava, and Saṃsārāvarta side by side with the Koṣas of Vyāḍi, Vācaspati, and Vikramāditya, though they are very likely the same three works (§ 3), it may even be guessed that he knew some of those sources merely second-hand.

27. *Śrīdharasena's Viśvalocana or Muktāvalī*

Probably in the first half of the 13th century and possibly even a few decades prior to it Śrīdharasena, pupil of Munisena of the Senānvaya (a subdivision of the Mūlasaṃgha of the Digambara Jainas), wrote a bipartite synonymic and homonymic dictionary styled Viśvalocana or Muktāvalī. Though of non-Buddhist origin, it is partially Buddhist in orientation and thus has found its way into the Lamaist canon.[181] Since at least some lines are clearly borrowed from Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (§ 18) and Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (§ 17),

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[180] For details see the introduction (I 1–14).

[181] It stands in vol. 133 *(po)* of the mDo or Sūtra section of the Tanjur, with the synonymic and homonymic parts treated as separate works: the Tibetan version, made by Dharmapālabhadra alias Chos-skyoṅs-bzaṅ-po of Źa-lu (1441–1528), at fol. 70b1–163b7 and 164a1–242a2 of the Derge xylograph, fol. 75b5–171b5 and 171b5–251b2 of the Narthang xylograph, and fol. 78a6–179a3 and 179a3–266b1 of the Peking xylograph [~Otani reprint, vol. 149, pp. 51–91 and 91–126], being wanting in the Chone xylograph; the Mongolian version, made by an anonym and hardly older than the Mongolian Tanjur itself (1742–1749), at fol. 249a–330b and 330b–487b. Chos-skyoṅs-bzaṅ-po, referred to above as revisor of the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana and Kāmadhenu renditions (§§ 5 and 6), was commissioned to the task of translating the Viśvalocana by Chos-kyi-grags-pa Ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po, the fourth hierarch of the Red Cap Karma-pas and abbot of Phag-mo-gru.

it cannot be earlier than the mid-12th century.[182] Its lower limit is furnished by the Tibetan translation, which was made from a manuscript dated Thursday, 24 February 1261.[183]

The synonymic part, the basic Sanskrit of which seems to be lost,[184] has been "filed on the silken thread spun by Amara" (*Amara-nirmita-paṭṭa-sūtre . . . viracitā*, introd. v. 7). It falls into two sections *(kāṇḍa)*, 14 chapters *(varga)*, and numerous subchapters *(prakaraṇa)*. The first section deals with heaven *(svarga)* and the nether world *(pātāla)*, the second with earth *(bhūmi)*, towns *(pura)*, mountains *(śaila)*, herbs *(vanauṣadhi)*, animals *(siṃhādi)*, man *(manuṣya)*, the four castes *(brahman, kṣatriya, vaiśya, śūdra)*, adjuncts *(viśeṣaṇa)*, and varia *(saṃkīrṇa)*. There are no separate chapters on the sky, its quarters, time, thought, sound, dance, hell, and water, as in the first section of the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, but most of these topics are treated at suitable other places. The order of articles too coincides on the whole with that in the Amarakoṣa; this holds specially good for the first chapter, where the names of the Buddhas, of Gautama Buddha, of the Pratyekabuddhas, etc. come before those of the Hindu gods and goddesses. The number of synonyms is often much larger than in standard works like the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana (with Trikāṇḍaśeṣa), the Vaijayantī, and the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (with Śeṣasaṃgraha).

The homonymic part, known also as Maṇimālā and totalling 2445$^1/_2$ stanzas (mainly Ślokas),[185] is cast in the mould of Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (§ 17). From this it differs only in that a Ṅāntavarga of one quarter of a verse has been added, and that words with the same final consonant and — in the instance of nouns — the same number of syllables are further grouped by their

[182] Cf. C. Vogel, NAWG 1976, p. 307. This paper supersedes P.K. Gode, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 57.

[183] The copyist's colophon has by a lucky chance been included in the Tanjur version (Peking xylograph, fol. 266a5–7): *Bal-poi lo sum-brgya brgyad-cu rtsa gcig-pas // dboi zla-bai nag-pai thses brgyad gza phur-bui ñin // dpal Rol-pai groṅ // Gau-ta-ma lhag-par gnas-pai gtsug-lag-khaṅ chen-por // paṇḍi-ta gnas-brtan dpal rigs-mchog dPal // ye-śes-kyis 'drir bcug-pai sde-thsan rdzogs-so //* "In the Nepalese year 381, on the eighth dark lunar day of the month Phālguna, on the planet Jupiter's day, the(se) chapters, caused to be transcribed at Śrī Lalitapattana in the Gautamādhiṣṭhāna Mahāvihāra by Paṇḍita Sthavira Śrīkulavara Śrījñāna, have been completed." P. Cordier (Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque nationale, III, Paris, 1915, p. 511) and, relying on him, Lokesh Chandra (The Amarakoṣa in Tibet, New Delhi, 1965, p. 7) mistook the phrase *'drir bcug-pa* "caused to be transcribed" (~ Skr. *lekhita*) to mean "rédigé" and "classed" respectively, considering the Maṇimālā a recast of the Viśvalocana, which is ruled out by the different nature of the two parts.

[184] Only the first eight stanzas of the introduction survive, having been prefixed to the homonymic part. See P. Peterson, [ABCIM 274], V, p. 162.

[185] Edited with Hindi Ṭīkā by N. Śarmā, Bambaī, 1912. The scattered definitions of monosyllables have been gathered together in Ramaṇīkavijaya's Ekākṣaranāmakoṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

first phonemes and their second consonants, which leads to a strict alphabetization on the paragraph level of all mono-, di-, and trisyllabic lexemes (I 2):

> *svarakādikramād ādir nirṇīto 'ntaś ca kādibhiḥ |*
> *dvitīye 'py atra varṇe 'sti niyamaḥ kādyanukramāt ||*
>
> "The beginning (is) fixed by the sequence of vowels and consonants and the end by the (sequence of) consonants; in the (case of the) second syllable too the rule is here (that it is fixed) by the sequence of consonants."

While the initial sound has also been taken into consideration by authors like Hemacandra (in his Anekārthasaṃgraha), Keśavasvāmin, and Medinikara, the next following element was never before — and, oddly enough, never again — made a criterion of arrangement. As concerns the individual entries, the lemmata always appear in the nominative and usually precede their senses, which in turn are always recorded in the locative and frequently combined into Dvandvas. Ekaśeṣas occur nowhere. The gender is expressed only if it cannot be inferred from the context, adjectives being equated with nouns of triple gender and denoted by the label *triṣu.*

As late as the 17th century, the homonymic part of Śrīdharasena's lexicon was a popular reference book; it is found quoted four times in Śrīvallabha Gaṇi's commentary on the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa (§ 24), once in Jinarāja's commentary on the Naiṣadhīyacarita, 47 times in Raṅganātha's commentary on the Vikramorvaśī, and 72 times in Śivadatta's commentary on the Śivakoṣa (§ 45 [46]). The Tibetan version of the entire Viśvalocana was utilized by Thse-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (1697–1763) for his Tibetan-Sanskrit thesaurus called Ṅo-mthsar nor-bui do-śal.[186]

28. Padmanābhadatta's Bhūriprayoga

To the second half of the 14th century is assigned Padmanābhadatta, the founder of the Saupadma school of grammar, who also engaged in poetry, metre, law, and lexicography.[187] Descended from a family of Maithila brahmins, he describes himself as a son of Dāmodaradatta and grandson of Śrīdatta. In spite of occasional assertions to the contrary, he cannot therefore be identical with another writer of the same name, son of Gaṇeśvara and grandson of Śrīpati, who completed a Pṛṣodarādivṛtti for the said school on 14 March 1374.[188]

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[186] Reproduced photomechanically by J. Bacot, Buddh. II 11, Paris, 1930.

[187] See the colophon to his Paribhāṣā in J. Eggeling, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 244.

[188] Cf. S.K. Belvalkar, An Account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit grammar, Poona, 1915, p. 111, who refers to H.P. Çāstrī, [ABCIM 118], I, p. 224. The date *(śāke śaila-navâditye caitre māsi raveḥ sthitau)* is trustworthy inasmuch as it mentions a partial solar eclipse that actually took place in the given year and month, its end having possibly been visible east of the 82nd meridian.

His Bhūriprayoga, which has remained unedited so far, agrees in its skeleton with Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. Unlike the latter, however, it allots disproportionately much space to the homonymic chapter, which extends over 40 of the 52 leaves of the Oxford manuscript and contains about 3730 words arranged in the manner of Maheśvara (§ 17).[189] As sources are enumerated the Viśvaprakāśa, some unspecified Amarakoṣaṭīkās, the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Ujjvaladatta's (Uṇādi)vṛtti, the Hārāvalī, and the Medinikoṣa. References to the present work occur, for example, in Nārāyaṇa Śarman's Amarakoṣapañjikā, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati's Trikāṇḍaviveka, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Prauḍhamanoramā, and Lokanātha Cakravartin's Manoharā.[190]

29. *Mahīpa's Śabdaratnākara and Anekārthatilaka*

Also in the second half of the 14th century lived Mahīpa, a scion of the Soma race and Prāgvāṭa family (son of Salakṣa and Saubhāgyadevī), who served as minister to the ruler of Nandapadra (probably modern Nandod in Broach District). Of the two dictionaries made by him, the synonymic Śabdaratnākara or Mahīpakoṣa[191] has one section each on heaven, earth, nether world, and general terms *(svargādi-, bhūmi-, pātāla-,* and *sāmānya-kāṇḍa),* naming Pāṇini, Amara(siṃha), and Hema(candra) as sources (IV 15). The homonymic Anekārthatilaka,[192] also styled Anekārthasaṃgraha (I 2) or Nānārtharatnatilaka (IV 212), deals in another four sections of 45, 362, 290, and 213 stanzas with words having respectively one, two, three, and four or five syllables. Written in s. 1430 or A.D. 1373/74, it is based on Pāṇini, Ahīndraguru (i.e. Patañjali), Bhāguri, Bhoja, Bheḍa, Hema(candra), Amara(siṃha), et al. (IV 212). The lemmata of each section are listed as a rule in the alphabetical order of their first letters, with the ligature *kṣa* figuring as an independent letter after *ha*; they always head the articles and stand in the nominative, while the meanings follow in

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189 Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 191. An alphabetical register in two parts of the homonyms and synonyms of the Bhūriprayoga, prepared for Ch. Wilkins by Lālā Mahtāb Rāy, is recorded in J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 298.

190 Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 28, pp. 122 and 123; id., [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 164; J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 6, p. 1181.

191 Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 2, p. 351; U.P. SHAH, Sambodhi 1, p. 33 (Baroda MS. 12121 dated *saṃ 1493 varṣe aśvina śudi 13 gurau* or Thursday, 12 September 1437). On Mahīpa's father, the minister Salakṣa, see below (§ 46 [6]).

192 Critically edited by M.M. PATKAR, SIAL 1, Poona, 1947; the first section newly edited by RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964. The earliest known manuscripts are the Poona codex 1872–73/38 of s. 1490 or 1433/34 (Patkar's witness A) and the incomplete Oxford codex 833B of A.D. 1443 (TH. AUFRECHT, op. cit., p. 352). For the year of composition see M.A. STEIN, [ABCIM 130], p. 52, and PUṆYAVIJAYAJI, New Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, Jesalmer collection, Ahmedabad 1972, p. 353.

the locative, either compounded or uncompounded. There are no Ekaśeṣas and no gender labels. The metre is Anuṣṭubh except in the salutation and in the intermediate and final colophons, where it is Indravajrā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and Vasantatilakā.

30. *Irugapa's Nānārtharatnamālā*

A third lexicographer active towards the close of the 14th century was Iruga or Irugap(p)a, who held the hereditary post of chief magistrate *(daṇḍādhinātha, daṇḍeśa)* under King Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1377–1404) and as such had charge of the state affairs *(rājakārya)* and the people's protection *(prajārakṣā)*. According to a contemporary inscription, he succeeded his father Caica or Caicaga in that office, adhered to the doctrine of Siṃhanandin, a Digambara Jaina belonging to the Balātkāragaṇa and Sārasvatagaccha of the Nandisaṃgha, and had a Kunthu temple erected at Vijayanagara, which was completed on Friday, 16 February 1386.[193] In two further epigraphs, dated 1382 and 1387/88, he is said to have granted the village of Mahendramaṅgala to a Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟu (near Kāñcīpura or Conjeeveram) for the merit of Harihara's son Bukka, and to have had a Mahāmaṇḍapa built for that temple at the instance of one Puṣpasena.[194]

His Nānārtharatnamālā,[195] a homonymic dictionary of 1329 stanzas composed in the usual Anuṣṭubh and various other metres, is divided into six sections *(kāṇḍa)*. A detailed preface informs about the circumstances of his life, the organization of the lexical matter, and the principles of gender indication. The first four sections are concerned with words of one to four syllables; the fifth, with words of five to seven syllables, words of unequal length and identical meaning, and words whose synonyms can assume special — frequently technical — significations;[196] the sixth, with indeclinables of one to four syllables. All items of the same length are recorded alphabetically (from *a* to *kṣa*) under the

[193] Cf. E. Hultzsch, South-Indian Inscriptions, I, Madras, 1890, p. 155. The date was calculated by F. Kielhorn, IA 23, p. 126.

[194] Cf. E. Hultzsch, EI 7, p. 115, who thinks this Puṣpasena to be Irugapa's spiritual teacher.

[195] Often printed in Telugu or Grantha characters, sometimes with Telugu glosses (Madras, 1856–58; [1]1870, [2]1879); the first section also with Marathi meanings (Sholapur, 1908). Partly edited as Ratnakoṣa by K.G. Oka, Poona, 1918 (together with Śāśvata's Anekārthasamuccaya), with the first section revised by N.N. Kulkarni, Poona, 1929. Critically edited with Sanskrit-English index by B.R. Sharma, SIAL 8, Poona, 1954; the first section anew by Ramaṇīkavijaya, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

[196] We subjoin the first entry of this kind by way of illustration (2520 sq.): *skandasya śaṃbhor dhātuś ca paryāyāḥ sakalāḥ kramāt / rudrākṣe ṣaṇmukhe pañcamukhe cāpi caturmukhe //* "All synonyms of Skanda, Śambhu, and Dhātṛ [i.e. of Kārttikeya, Śiva, and Brahman, who are thought to have respectively six, five, and four heads] (may be used) successively for a Rudrākṣa tree [Elaeocarpus ganitrus ROXB.] with six tops, five tops, and four tops."

first letter of the last syllable and, if this letter should be a cluster, under its final element; e.g., *reka* under *ka* (190), *varcas* under *ca* (284), *saṃjñā* under *ña* (327).[197] The varisyllables are merely assembled in groups of masculine, feminine, neuter, multiple, and adjectival gender. The homonymic synonyms are wholly unorganized. The vocables are presented in the nominative, the senses in the locative (except in Ekaśeṣa-style definitions); their normal sequence is reversed at times, ambiguities that might arise therefrom being avoided by the separative particles *atha* and *tu*. The gender, unless apparent from ending or context, is described by suitable terms, with *dvayoḥ* and *triṣu* being employed respectively for epicene nouns and adjectives (as well as substantives of triple gender). South Indian influence betrays itself in unattested words like *lagu* "a territory, deer" (234) and *hariman* "death, a Yoga" (1799), unconventional spellings like *taṭāga* for *taḍāga* (1317), and unorthodox meanings like "cripple" for *kuṇṭha* (380), "room" for *koṇa* (425), "storage of grain in straw baskets" for *mūta* (471), "small" for *sanna* (676), and "age" for *prāya* (779).

Some codices attribute the Nānārtharatnamālā to a certain Bhāskara Vibudha. While B.R. Sharma is probably correct in regarding this Bhāskara and Irugapa as one and the same person (p. III), the possibility cannot altogether be excluded that our Koṣa was compiled by Bhāskara under Irugapa's patronage and only afterwards accredited to Irugapa himself.

31. *Rāghava's Nānārthamañjarī*

A homonymic dictionary of South Indian provenance but unknown age sharing a good many lines with the Nānārtharatnamālā is Rāghava's Nānārthamañjarī.[198] Totalling 1006 Ślokas, it opens with a salutation to Gaṇeśa and a catalogue of writers and books used: the Viśvaprakāśa, Gopāla, the author of the (Trikāṇḍa)śeṣa, Dhanaṃjaya, the Śabdārṇava, the Vaijayantī, Sūrya, Rudra, Yādava(prakāśa),[199] Pratāpa, Bhāguri, Daṇḍin, Rabhasa(pāla), Halāyu-

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[197] In cases of a checked radical ultima, the author sometimes fell victim to his own novel system; thus *tamonud* is listed not only in its proper place among the trisyllables terminating in *na* (1663) but also, as in Dharaṇidāsa's Anekārthasāra (1171) and Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (929), among the tetrasyllables terminating in *da* (2259). The lack of any further classification has led to similar repetitions; thus *śastra* is taught to mean "weapon" and "bow" in one article (897) and "eulogy," "missile," and "iron" in another (944).

[198] Critically edited with Sanskrit-English index by K.V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma, SIAL 9, Poona, 1954; the monosyllabic portions reprinted in Ramaṇīkavijaya's Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964. The editor inclines to the guess that the Nānārthamañjarī is either contemporary with or posterior to the Nānārtharatnamālā (p. I); the date of his manuscript B (p. 95) is equivalent to Sunday, 18 October 1863.

[199] His being mentioned side by side with the Vaijayantī is very strange indeed.

dha, Subhūti(candra), Hari, Viṣṇu, Vararuci, Amara(siṃha), Utpala, Ajaya-(pāla), and Śāśvata. The first lemma is the sacred syllable *om*. Then follow, in alphabetical order, the monosyllables formed by a single vowel and, in the alphabetical order of the final consonant and the order of increasing length, the polysyllables. Those polysyllables which end in *ḷa* (by Southern pronunciation) and *kṣa* come last. The articles are drawn up in the manner of Irugapa's lexicon but often overlaid with expletives.

32. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's Śabdaratnākara and Śabdacandrikā

Only little younger than Irugapa was his fellow-countryman Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, son of Kovaṭiyajvan and grandson of Varadāgnicit of the Vatsa family. He passed his early days at the court of King Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1377–1404), where he studied under the illustrious Vedānta philosopher Mādhava Vidyāraṇya and wrote his one-man stage-play Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa. Later he moved to the court of Pedda Komaṭi Vema (1403–1420), the Reḍḍi chief of Koṇḍavīḍu, whose exploits he glorified in his Vemabhūpāla- or Vīranārāyaṇacarita, a prose romance in imitation of the Harṣacarita meant at the same time to back his own claim to being a new Bāṇa; hence his other name Abhinavabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. All told, he boasts a literary oeuvre of eleven works, two of which are non-belletristic: the Śabdaratnākara and the Śabdacandrikā.[200]

The Śabdaratnākara[201] is a comprehensive synonymic and homonymic dictionary made up of 2338 stanzas — many of them non-Anuṣṭubh — and broken down into four sections *(kāṇḍa)* of nine, twice eight, and once more nine chapters *(adhyāya)*. The synonymic first three sections have one chapter each on the chief gods *(ādideva)*, the guardians of the cardinal points *(dikpāla)*, the planets *(graha)*, sages *(ṛṣi)*, clouds *(megha)*, sound *(śabda)*, time *(kāla)*, thought *(citta)*, the nether world *(pātāla)*, the earth *(vasuṃdharā)*, mountains *(parvata)*, woods *(vana)*, quadrupeds *(catuṣpad)*, birds *(śakunta)*, towns *(pura)*, modes of speech *(uktibheda)*, dance *(nāṭya)*, man *(manuṣya)*, the priestly *(brahman)*, military *(kṣatriya)*, agricultural *(vaiśya)*, and servile *(śūdra)* castes, adjectives *(viśeṣyanighna)*, as well as varia *(saṃkīrṇa)*, closing with addenda to what has been said before *(uktaśeṣa)*. The miscellaneous fourth section has one chapter each on homonymic nouns with two syllables, three syllables, four syllables,

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[200] Cf. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, History of classical Sanskrit literature, Delhi, 1970, p. 215, where it also says: "The name of Vāmana is mentioned in a copper plate grant dated Saka 1338 (1441 A.D.) [!]." If this reference is to the Tottaramūḍi plates of ś. 1333 or A.D. 1411/12 (J. RAMAYYA, EI 4, p. 318), as it seems to be, the author must have misunderstood the relevant passage in R.V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR's introduction to the Pārvatīpariṇaya, Srirangam, 1906, p. 12.

[201] Critically edited with Sanskrit-English index by B.R. SHARMA, MVG-PG 16, Darbhanga, 1965.

five syllables, and one syllable, homonymic indeclinables with one syllable and two syllables, as well as synonymic indeclinables, winding up with a summary of rules on gender *(liṅgasaṃgraha)*. In the homonymic chapters, items of equal length are alphabetized by the first letter and only rarely placed after the appertaining senses, whose typical case is the locative. The rules on gender are cast into seven paragraphs *(prakaraṇa)* relative to feminines, masculines, neuters, feminines or masculines, substantives of triple gender, masculines or neuters, and feminines or neuters. Though no sources are specified, the strong influence of Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana is still recognizable both in the classification of the subject-matter and in the phrasing of a number of articles. It also manifests itself in the guide-lines *(paribhāṣā)*, which point out that the gender is marked by form, context, or labels,[202] that words of different gender are not made into Dvandvas or Ekaśeṣas, that prohibition of one gender signals admissibility of the other two genders, and that words followed by *tu* or headed by *atha* must not be linked with what goes before (9–18).

The Śabdacandrikā, which has not been published as yet, is a brief synonymic dictionary in five chapters *(sarga)* centring round the topics heaven etc. and world guardians *(svargādilokapāla)*, atmosphere *(antarikṣa)*, earth *(bhūmi)*, ocean *(samudra)*, and man etc. *(manuṣyādi)*. The few verses given by A.C. Burnell and P.P.S. Sastri go to show that it is a supplement to the synonymic part of the Śabdaratnākara.[203]

33. *Makarandadāsa's Paramānandīyanāmamālā*

As recently as the 16th and 17th centuries, India produced several lexicographers of note. The first to be enumerated here is Makarandadāsa, son of Paramānanda Ṭhakkura, who is accredited with a multi-purpose dictionary of 1835 stanzas entitled Paramānandīyanāmamālā,[204] the terminus ad quem of which is established by Harṣakīrti's transcript of Friday, 23 February 1582 O.S.[205]

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[202] Viz. *nā* or *pumān* for the masculine gender, *strī* for the feminine gender, *napuṃsakam* or *klībam* or *ṣaṇḍam* for the neuter gender, *triṣu* for the triple gender (nouns and adjectives), and *dvayoḥ* for the epicene gender.

[203] Cf. A.C. Burnell, [ABCIM 306], p. 49; P.P.S. Sastri, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3899. — A Bṛhadratnākara, possibly a combination of the Śabdaratnākara and the Śabdacandrikā, is listed by G. Oppert, [ABCIM 292], I, p. 174.

[204] Critically edited with Sanskrit-English indices by E.D. Kulkarni, DCBCSJS 7–8, Poona, 1968–71. The homonymic section is also found in Ramaṇīkavijaya's Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

[205] IV 18*: *vasu-bhuvana-ṛtu-niśāmaṇi-varṣe Harṣeṇa phālgune māsi / pratipadi śukre vāre pūrṇeyaṃ puṇya-velāyām //* "In the year of (the word-numerals) Vasu, world, season, and night-jewel [1638], in the month Phālguna, on Friday the first, this (Paramānandīyanāmamālā was) completed (in transcript) by Harṣa at a favourable time of day." On Harṣakīrti, see below (§ 34). A copy of his transcript not consulted by the editor is recorded in Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, p. 792, and app., p. 397.

In a brief family history appended to the first book, it is reported that Makarandadāsa descended from the Ciravārīyaka branch of the Kāyastha clan of Mathurā (IV 2*), and that his paternal great-granduncle Parśurāma secured the sovereignty over Yavanapura from Sāhi Sikandara (IV 6*). Since this ruler is apparently none other than Sultan Sikandar Lodī of Delhi (1489–1517), who annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur after deposing his brother Bārbak Shāh as viceroy,[206] Makarandadāsa may be attributed with confidence to the second half of the 16th century.

As regards the true authorship of the Paramānandīyanāmamālā, there is a manifest disagreement between the text itself and the colophon to the first book on the one hand, which clearly assign it to Paramānanda (II 8, 14, 292; III 14, 216; IV 442, 15*), and the postscripts to the various books, sections, and subsections on the other, which equally clearly assign it to Paramānanda's son (except III 119 and V 383). However, the problem can be resolved in a satisfactory manner by supposing either — as the editor does — that Makarandadāsa simply committed to paper what his father and teacher had conveyed to him by word of mouth, or that he merely applied the final touches to a work actually compiled by the latter.

The Paramānandīyanāmamālā consists of three outwardly independent books: the Nāmamālā proper, the Anekārthasaṃgraha, and the Liṅgānuśāsana. The Nāmamālā proper comprises four unnamed sections *(pariccheda)*, of which the first is homonymic, dealing with monosyllables from *a* to *kṣa*, while the other three are synonymic, pivoting on such major topics as the chief gods Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, Brahman, and Śiva (II 1–47), heaven and lesser deities (II 48–85), sky, time, and atmosphere (II 85–162), Buddhism, Jainism, philosophy, and science (II 163–170), speech, music, dance, mind, and theatre (II 171–225), earth (II 225–343), water (II 344–376), fire (III 3–14), wind (III 14–19), plants (III 19–119), animals (III 119–250), hell (III 251–254), world, life, feelings, actions, and senses (III 255–302), quantity (III 303–323), quality (III 324–373), sundries (III 373–393), and man (IV 2–440). Nearly all synonym series are preceded by prose captions in Sanskrit or Rajasthani, which may originate either from the writer – as E.D. Kulkarni has it — or from the copyist. A few specially marked Deśī words have even been incorporated in the text itself: *jambīra* "citron" (III 72), *hiñcita* "swung" (III 360), and *chaïlla* "clever" (IV 10).

The Anekārthasaṃgraha records a modest choice of homonyms in the alphabetical order of the first letter (again from *a* to *kṣa*) and in the order of increasing length (from two to a maximum of six syllables). Though expressly set down in the introductory verse, this rule is ignored in at least three places: the disyllables with initial *ā* are inserted after the only pentasyllable with initial *ā* (V 52 sqq.), and items with initial *ī* and *ū* are included in those with initial *i*

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[206] Cf. V.A. Smith, The Oxford History of India, Oxford, ³1958, p. 261.

and *u* (V 56 sqq. and 62 sqq.). Remarkable is the total absence of words with initial *ba*, for they do not occur among those with initial *va* either (except *bāṇa* in V 348). The individual articles abound in expletives and display little uniformity; thus the lemmata appear not only at the beginning or end but sometimes also in a medial position, while the senses present themselves now in the locative and now — if less frequently — in the nominative, and that even when belonging together. The use of *atha* and *tu* as punctuation substitutes does not always accord with Amarasiṃha's maxim *tvantāthādi na pūrvabhāk* (I 1.5); in a passage like *parābhave 'bhiṣaṅgas tu śapathākrośayor api* (V 42), for instance, *parābhava* relates to *abhiṣaṅga* irrespective of the fact that *tu* is attached to the latter: "For 'defeat' (may stand) *abhiṣaṅga*, however, for 'curse' and 'insult' also." Intriguing are those entries in which a vocable is explained by means of itself, as *kañcuka* in V 123, *gandha* in V 153, *giri* in V 157, *candra* in V 178, *jala* in V 196, *pāka* in V 288, and *rāga* in V 343. The gender remains undesignated but can be identified in most cases by the termination. Adjectives assume the character of masculine or neuter nouns.

The Liṅgānuśāsana, lastly, is concerned in seven paragraphs with substantives of masculine, feminine, neuter, epicene, masculine and neuter, feminine and neuter, and triple gender.

As sources were consulted the Viśvaprakāśa, Amarasiṃha, and Hemacandra (I 44, IV 442, VI 118 and 178). For a full list of Nāga princes, the user is referred to Gauḍa Paṇḍita (III 213).[207] The recipe for Saṃyāva sweets is described in a prose tag as being from a Vṛddhanirghaṇṭu (IV 68–69).[208]

The metre is Anuṣṭubh throughout the Nāmamālā proper (except in I 44) and the Anekārthasaṃgraha; it is non-Anuṣṭubh in two thirds of the verses of the Nāmamālā colophon and in just under one fifth of the verses of the Liṅgānuśāsana.[209]

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207 Gauḍa is known from numerous citations in Kṣīrasvāmin's Amarakoṣodghāṭana, Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālāṭīkā, and Jñānavimala Gaṇi's Śabdabhedaprakāśaṭīkā. He was also utilized for Viśvanātha's Koṣakalpataru.

208 This is not the Dhanvantarīya- or the Rājanighaṇṭu; but see the similarly phrased recipe quoted by Ḍalhaṇa in elucidation of Suśrutasaṃhitā I 46.395c, which, incidentally, proves that what Kulkarni reads as *sadhudugdhena* and changes to *saha ? dugdhena* is in actual fact *madhudugdhena*, and that *suśobhanam* and *khaṇḍo* are clerical or typographical errors for *suśobhanām* and *khaṇḍe*.

209 The non-Anuṣṭubh metres used are: Indravajrā (VI 85, 98, 160); Upendravajrā (IV 4*, 9*; VI 74, 129); Upajāti (I 44; IV 3*, 8*, 11*; VI 18, 19, 109, 111, 135, 141, 163, 171, 174, 178); Śālinī (VI 29, 30, 61, 88, 91, 172); Indravaṃśā (VI 43); Drutavilambita (VI 159, 161); Bhujaṃgaprayāta (VI 60, 62); Sragviṇī (VI 84); Vasantatilakā (VI 133); Mālinī (IV 10*, 13*, 14*; VI 130, 176); Mandākrāntā (VI 59); Āryā (IV 2*, 12*, 16*, 18*; VI 1, 162 [?]); Udgīti (VI 53); Āryāgīti (VI 57).

34. *Harṣakīrti's Śāradīyākhyanāmamālā, Anekārthanāmamālā, and Śabdānekārtha*

A second outstanding representative of 16th-century lexicography is Harṣakīrti Sūri, pupil of Candrakīrti Sūri and pontiff from c. 1590 to c. 1610 of the Nāgapurīya Tapāgaccha (a collateral branch of the renowned Tapā order of the Śvetāmbara Jainas). Besides one synonymic and two homonymic dictionaries, this versatile scholar has to his credit commentaries and independent treatises in such disparate fields as ceremonial lore, hymnody, gnomic poetry, metre, grammar, medicine, and astronomy. The highlights of his career can be reconstructed with considerable precision from the colophon stanzas of his numerous books and the tail-pieces of several old codices in the Anup Sanskrit Library at Bikaner, which chances to hold some forty manuscripts once owned by him: He was active as scribe as early as 1556/57 when he made a transcript of Śivāditya's Saptapadārthī (MS. 6123); he had risen in the hierarchy to the rank of Upādhyāya by 1578/79 when his pupil Vīrapāla dedicated to him a copy of Siddhasena Divākara's Nyāyāvatāravṛtti (MS. 6051); he bore the title of Sūri by Friday, 23 February 1582 O.S., when he brought to an end his transcript of Makarandadāsa's Paramānandīyanāmamālā (MS. 5466); and he wrote his Śabdānekārtha as late as 1608/09. The picture so gained can be supplemented from other sources: He was head-priest by Monday, 21 August 1592 O.S. (31 August 1592 N.S.), when Rāmakīrti finished the Calcutta Sanskrit College manuscript of Jinadatta's Vivekavilāsa, and he had passed away by Saturday, 18 May 1616 O.S. (28 May 1616 N.S.), when Dharmakīrti finalized the Ambala manuscript of Amarakīrti's Vyākhyāleśa under the latter's patriarchate. His floruit may thus be fixed tentatively as 1535–1610.[210]

Harṣakīrti's synonymic dictionary, styled Śāradīyākhya- or Śāradīyābhidhanāmamālā[211] because of the various appellations of the goddess of speech mentioned at the outset, falls into three sections *(kāṇḍa)* of three, four, and five chapters *(varga)* respectively, adding up to a total of 464½ verses, all but four of which are Ślokas.[212] The first and second sections also go by the name of Śāradīyābhidhalaghunāmamālā. The words are grouped roughly under the categories god *(deva)*, sky *(vyoman)*, earth *(dharā)*, body *(aṅga)*, social life etc. *(saṃyogādi)*, music *(saṃgīta)*, scholar *(paṇḍita)*, priest *(brahman)*, king *(rājan)*,

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[210] Cf. C. Vogel, ZDMG, suppl. 2, p. 426; English version in: German Scholars on India, II, Bombay, 1976, p. 334.

[211] Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74]; the first two sections edited by Kāśīnātha, CSJGM 2, Ahmedabad, 1918; critically edited with Sanskrit-English glossary by M.M. Patkar, SIAL 6, Poona, 1951. The Bikaner manuscript, not used by Patkar, is dated s. 1648 [1591/92]; see C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, [ABCIM 28], p. 413.

[212] In III 127, 128, and 132 the metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita, in III 133 it is Vasantatilakā.

peasant *(vaiśya)*, servant *(śūdra)*, and miscellanea *(saṃkīrṇa)*.[213] Since in the closing lines the author calls himself a Pāṭhaka and leader of a Śvetāmbara community *(śvetāmbaragrāmaṇī)* but not yet a Sūri, the work must have been written prior to 1582.

The two homonymic dictionaries are little known so far. They have been handed down in a single manuscript of c. 1840 bristling with errors, and it is doubtless for this reason that they are still waiting to be published.[214] The Anekārthanāmamālā or Anekārthaśata numbers 120 genuine verses (Ślokas and a final Āryā) and gives the nominal lemmata in the alphabetical sequence of their last consonants, winding up with an unsystematized list of indeclinables. Nouns and adjectives are not kept apart. The entries always coincide with a metrical unit: mostly a hemistich or line, rarely a couplet. The senses stand in the locative or nominative and come before or after the catchwords, framing them even in a few isolated cases. On close examination, one notices many echoes of previous lexica: chiefly the Nānārthavarga of Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa, and Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṃgraha. Its composition still fell under the primacy of Candrakīrti Sūri (v. 120), that is, in the years antecedent to 1592.

The Śabdānekārtha has three chapters *(adhikāra)* of 107, 85$^1/_2$, and 34 verses constituted by articles that fill a Śloka, half Śloka, and quarter Śloka respectively; it is, in fact, just a revised edition of Mahākṣapaṇaka's Anekārthadhvanimañjarī (§ 8). Its date corresponds either to 21 January 1608 O.S. (31 January 1608 N.S.) or — more likely — to 8 February 1609 O.S. (18 February 1609 N.S.).[215]

35. *Rūpacandra's Rūpamañjarīnāmamālā and Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala's Śīghrabodhinīnāmamālā*

In the same period originate two dictionaries of lesser consequence that have attracted no interest so far: the Rūpamañjarīnāmamālā by Rūpacand(r)a, son of Gopāladāsa, composed under the Emperor Akbar in s. 1644 or A.D. 1587/88 and concerned in 10 chapters *(varga)* of 123 verses all told with heaven *(svarga)*, sky *(vyoman)*, earth *(bhūmi)*, man *(manuṣya)*, birds *(pakṣin)*, quadrupeds *(catuṣpada)*, metals and minerals *(dhātu)*, nether world *(pātāla)*, general terms

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[213] For details see M.M. PATKAR, PO 22, no. 3/4, p. 39.

[214] Cf. A.B. KEITH, [ABCIM 164], II 1, pp. 315 and 316. The Anekārthanāmamālā is now being edited by C. VOGEL.

[215] III 34: *bāṇa-tarka-rasa-gau tu varṣe tapasi māsi ca / rākāyāṃ Harṣakīrty-āhvasūriś cakre satāṃ mate //* "In the year having (as word-numerals) arrow, philosophical system, flavour, and earth [1665], however, and in the month (of) Tapas [Māgha], on full-moon day, the Sūri named Harṣakīrti made (it) on the advice of the learned."

(sāmānya), as well as homonyms *(anekārtha)*;[216] and the Śīghrabodhinīnāmamālā by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, son of Dharma and Nāgā, consisting of four sections devoted respectively to things muliebral such as a woman's body, beauty, clothes, blandishments, and nature *(śṛṅgārakāṇḍa)*, to things terrestrial such as earth, mountains, trees, and war *(rājakāṇḍa)*, to things celestial such as atmosphere, full-moon day and night, heaven, and gods *(daivakāṇḍa)*, as well as to miscellanea such as homonyms, indeclinables, the fourteen sciences, and the sixty-four arts *(anekārthakāṇḍa)*.[217] While Rūpacandra, a kshatriya of the Mehara family, has not otherwise distinguished himself in the field of letters, Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, a brahmin of the Jāmadagnya family and native of Sātanūrva near Mount Śaivagaṅga in Karṇāṭa, is more familiar to us as the author of several books on music,[218] one of which — the Rāgamālā — was completed on Monday, 16 July 1576.[219]

36. *Appayya Dīkṣita's Nāmasaṃgrahamālā*

Comparable in importance to Harṣakīrti Sūri is the celebrated polymath Appayya Dīkṣita,[220] fifth son of Raṅgarājādhvarin and grandson of Āccān Dīkṣita, to whom tradition ascribes more than a hundred works.[221] A brahmin of

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[216] Cf. R.G. Bhandarkar, [ABCIM 273], IV, p. 16. A nameless commentary *(ṭippaṇa)* has been listed by H.D. Velankar, [ABCIM 330], I, p. 332. The date is given in v. 123cd as *śrīmad-Akabbara* [unmetrical] *-rājya-veda-yuga-ṣaḍ-bhū-varṣake mādhave māse rāma-tithau dineśa-divase* "in the reign of the glorious Akbar and the year of (the numerals) Veda, aeon, six, and earth [1644], in the month Mādhava [Vaiśākha], on the lunar day of (the numeral) Rāma [3], on the day of the day-lord [sun]"; with the fortnight not stated, it is ambiguous, corresponding either to 27 March 1586 O.S. (6 April 1586 N.S.), to 30 April 1587 O.S. (10 May 1587 N.S.), or to 14 May 1587 O.S. (24 May 1587 N.S.), all of which were Sundays as required. — For the details noted above, we had at our disposal photostats of two uncatalogued manuscripts (Nos. 7095 and 7568) of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, which were kindly made available to us by Dr. D.D. Malvania.

[217] Cf. R. Mitra, [ABCIM 219], IV, p. 152.

[218] Cf. P.K. Gode, JMA 6–8, p. 119; M.M. Patkar, PO 3, p. 165; J.B. Chaudhuri, Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic learning, I², Calcutta, 1954, p. 76; E. te Nijenhuis, Musicological literature, HIL VI 1, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 22.

[219] Cf. P.K. Gode, [ABCIM 264], XII, p. 385; Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, app., p. 417: *śāke vasv-aṅka-vedâbjaka-*[v. l. *vedâñcaka-*]*pariganite dhātṛ-saṃvatsare 'sminn āṣāḍhe kṛṣṇa-pakṣe śaśadhara-sudine pañcamī-revatī-bhe* "in this Śāka year counted by (the word-numerals) Vasu, hook, Veda, and moon [1498], the (Jovian) year Dhātṛ, in (the month of) Āṣāḍha, in the dark fortnight, on the happy day of the hare-bearer [moon], the fifth, (when the moon stood) in the asterism Revatī." In JMA 6–8, p. 121, Gode gives the corresponding Christian date wrongly as Monday, 30 July 1576.

[220] Called also Appa, Appaya, Appi, or Appai Dīkṣita, the *pp* being read sometimes as *py*.

[221] According to V. Raghavan, [ABCIM 231], I², p. 259, the lexicographer Appayya Dīkṣita is distinct from his famous namesake.

the Bhāradvājagotra hailing from Kāñcīpura or Conjeeveram and a champion of southern Śaivism, he is variously stated to have lived 1520–1593, 1552–1624, and 1554–1626 (the second being the period usually favoured). The extreme limits of his literary activity as fixed by internal and external evidence are 1549 and 1613.[222] His Nāmasaṃgrahamālā, which has not been edited as yet,[223] is a synonymic dictionary of about 250 Ślokas interspersed with prose comments quoting amply from the Purāṇas and from other lexica such as the Rabhasakoṣa, Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, the Amaraśeṣa, Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā, Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī, Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa, Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's Śabdaratnākara, and Haṃvīramiśra's Paryāyapadamañjarī.[224] Special notice may be drawn to the mention of Cakravartin, a commentator of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa (fol. 6b), and Divākara, a writer on Nāṭyaśāstra (fol. 31b). Equally interesting is the only hitherto traceable reference to Daṇḍin's Avantisundarīya (fol. 30a). The book, which has not been divided into chapters, affords some new information about rivers, mountains, and territories, establishing, for example, the identity of Kuṭilā with Gaṅgā (fol. 27b) and of Pallava with Kāñcīdeśa or Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala (fol. 30a).[225]

37. Sahajakīrti's Siddhaśabdārṇava

A younger contemporary and worthy competitor (as regards his literary output) of Harṣakīrti Sūri was the Śvetāmbara Jaina Sahajakīrti, pupil of Hemanandana of the Kharataragaccha. A native of Western Rajasthan flourishing between 1600 and 1650, he rose in the hierarchy of his order to be a Gaṇi in 1615, a Vācaka about 1620, an Upādhyāya around 1634, and a Mahopādhyāya some time thereafter. His oeuvre, more than two thirds of which is in Rajasthani, comprises six commentaries and thirty monographs pertaining for the greater part to the domain of devotional poetry.[226] Only the Siddhaśabdārṇava is of interest in the present context. It is a synonymic dictionary said to be in six

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[222] Cf. S.K. De, History of Sanskrit poetics, I², Calcutta, 1960, p. 221.

[223] Our references are to the Berlin manuscript; see A. Weber, [ABCIM 20], I, p. 225.

[224] This last work is a synonymic dictionary in three chapters *(guccha)* noticed by M. Rangacharya, [ABCIM 199], III, p. 1174. For the same author's Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā, a combination of homonymic and synonymic lexicon in three chapters *(apavaraka)* dealing with gods *(deva)*, man *(manuṣya)*, and higher and lower animals *(tiryagjantu)*, and for Murārimiśra's commentary thereon, styled Ḍhaukā, see ibid., p. 1210, and V. Krishnamacharya, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 409. Haṃvīramiśra, son of Śitikaṇṭha of the Pīlu family, was a follower of the Vīraśaiva sect; his date is not known.

[225] Cf. V. Raghavan, AOR 5, pt. 2, p. 4; V. Krishnamacharya, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 388.

[226] Cf. A. Nāhṭā, JSB 16, p. 99.

sections *(kāṇḍa)*, of which, however, nothing but the first (352 verses) and a major portion of the second (446 verses) has been unearthed till now.[227] A subdivision into chapters *(adhikāra)* concerned with allied material, though met with sporadically, does not appear to have been intended throughout. One finds concrete nouns next to abstract nouns and names of deities, sages, personages, planets, and stars side by side with terms relating to social, cultural, religious, political, administrative, and military affairs. In a few cases Sahajakīrti dissociates even what belongs immediately together, as for example, the equivalents for "joy" (I 274–275) and "joyous" (II 429–430). On the whole one cannot help feeling that the items were jotted down more or less as they came to the author's mind. The choice of words is often reminiscent of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, but the range of topics has been widened a good deal. The metre is generally Anuṣṭubh, other metres used being Indravajrā (I 35), Sragviṇī (II 254), Vasantatilakā (I 36, II 384), Śārdūlavikrīḍita (II 1, II 3), and Āryā (II 282). A special feature of the book is that irrespective of metre the lexical units are provided with a serial number at the end (1–621 in the first and 1–800 in the second section) and preceded by a short prose sentence in Rajasthani indicating the concept and the quantity of synonyms.

38. Viśvanātha's Koṣakalpataru

To the same generation as Sahajakīrti belonged Viśvanātha, scion of the Atrigotra and son of Nārāyaṇa Vaidya and Rukmiṇī of Devālaya in Vidarbha, who composed a Śatruśalyacarita in praise of Jām Sattarsāl of Navanagar (1569–1608) and a Jagatprakāśa in praise of Mahārāja Jagat Singh I of Udaipur (1628–1652), and at whose hands the Govardhananātha Temple of Deolia was founded by Mahārāja Hari Singh of Partabgarh (1629–1676) in 1649.[228] Gaṅgārāma's Haribhūṣaṇa describes him as well versed in all the arts and sciences, especially philosophy, rhetoric, dialectics, grammar, drama, and poetry (VIII 37–39). His Koṣakalpataru,[229] a synonymic-cum-homonymic dictionary of over 6,100 stanzas displaying a vast multiplicity of metres, is divided into five sections *(kāṇḍa* or *skandha)* of seven, ten, three, five, and once more seven chapters *(varga)* respectively. The first section *(svaḥ-* or *svargakāṇḍa)* deals with the Supreme Spirit, heaven, sky, time, thought, dance, and water; the second *(dharā-* or *bhūkāṇḍa)*, with earth, towns, mountains, herbs, animals, man, and the four castes; the third *(pātālakāṇḍa* or *-skandha)*, with the nether world, hell, and disease; the fourth *(sāmānyaskandha)*, with adjectives, sundries, verbs, — a singularity inasmuch as these are normally treated in the Dhā-

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[227] Edited with Sanskrit-English index by M. G. PANSE, DCBCSJS 54, Poona, 1965.

[228] Cf. P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, II, Bombay, 1954, p. 193.

[229] Edited by M. M. PATKAR and K. V. KRISHNAMOORTHY SHARMA, SIAL 14, 19, , Poona, 1957– .

tupāṭhas, — genders, and indeclinables; and the fifth *(nānārthaskandha)*, with nouns of several meanings that end in gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials, semivowels, and sibilants (including the aspirate). The lexical matter of the last section is further grouped by the alphabetical order of the individual consonants and by the increasing number of syllables, with a checked radical ultima counted as two. The homonymic catchwords stand in the nominative while the respective senses precede or follow in the locative, compounded or uncompounded, new articles being set off by *atha* or *tu* if necessary. The gender is signified by form, context, or labels as the case may be, adjectives and substantives of triple gender being put in the same category and marked indiscriminately by *trayyām* or *triṣu*. Rather impressive is the array of authorities claimed to have been consulted (V 7.70–71): Saṃsārāvarta, Vinaya, Ajaya(pāla), Bhāgurī, Śāśvata, Vyāḍi, Gauḍa, Maheśa, Rabhasa(pāla), Aruṇa, Medinī(kara), Nandin, Durga [Hugga], Haima [Abhidhānacintāmaṇi], Vācaspati, Amara(siṃha), Govardhana's Uṇādi(vṛtti), Rudra, Candra(gomin), Mālā, Matijaladhi's Cāru [?],[230] Hārāvalī, Śabdārṇava, Utpalinī, Subhūti(candra), Halāyudha, and Vikramabhūpati [Vikramāditya]. It is, however, very improbable that the various preclassical sources enumerated in this list should still have existed in Viśvanātha's day; they are more likely to have been known to him from passages quoted in later works.[231]

39. *Veṇīdatta's Pañcatattvaprakāśa and Mīramīrāsuta's Asālatiprakāśa*

Coeval with Viśvanātha was Veṇīdatta, son of Jagajjīvana and grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha of the Yājñika family,[232] to whom we owe — apart from the florilegium Padyaveṇī and the ornate poem Vāsudevakathā or Vāsudevacarita[233] — a synonymic dictionary of 400-odd stanzas called Pañcatattvaprakāśa.[234] Com-

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[230] The only manuscript reads *Matijaladhi-kṛtaṃ cāru*; the editors conjecture *-kṛtāṃ*, which would refer to the preceding *mālāṃ*.

[231] This would also explain why he accords to the Śabdārṇava, Utpalinī, and Saṃsārāvarta equal status with Vācaspati, Vyāḍi, and Vikramāditya, whom we have every reason to regard as the authors of those ancient lexica (§ 3).

[232] There are several namesakes of his; see K. VENKATESWARA SARMA, PTAIOC 13, pt. 2, p. 157.

[233] He seems to be also the author of the Audīcyaprakāśa, a law-book on the brahmins of the north quoted at Padyaveṇī 312 and 314 (J.B. CHAUDHURI's edition, PMSG 1, Calcutta, 1944). His son Gopīkānta wrote a Nyāya(pra)dīpa prior to s. 1734 or 1677/78; see R.G. BHANDARKAR, [ABCIM 273], VI, p. 56, R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], IX, p. 22, and PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, [ABCIM 281], I, app., p. 15.

[234] Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74]. A contemporary manuscript, produced between 1660 and 1662 by the Rev. Heinrich Roth S.J., survives as MS. Or. 172 in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome; see R. HAUSCHILD, Der Missionar P. Heinrich Roth aus Dillingen und die erste europäische Sanskrit-Grammatik, Berlin, 1972, p. 10. An anonymous commentary entitled Ākāśa is recorded by C. KUNHAN RAJA and K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, [ABCIM 28], p. 411.

piled at the instance of one Viśveśa and completed on Sunday, 30 June 1644 O.S. (10 July 1644 N.S.),[235] this Koṣa is broken down into five chapters labelled as "suns" *(bhānu)* and named after the five elements *(pañcatattva)*, which constitute their general themes: earth *(bhūmi)*, water *(jala)*, fire *(tejas)*, wind *(vāyu)*, and ether *(ākāśa)*. The first and fifth chapters are subdivided into "rays" *(marīci)* because of their length. Irrespective of the metre, which is Anuṣṭubh and Mālinī (in V 4.16), each set of synonyms is followed by a prose tag in Sanskrit stating the concept at issue and the number of words given.

Viśveśa, who inspired the composition of the Pañcatattvaprakāśa, is in all likelihood identical with Mīramīrāsuta or Mīramīrā's son,[236] himself the author of a synonymic dictionary entitled Asālatiprakāśa after his patron Nasālati Khān of Kashmir.[237] This lexicon also falls into five chapters styled "suns" and centring on the five elements, thus showing Mīramīrāsuta's influence over Veṇīdatta. As sources are mentioned at the outset (I 2): Hārāvalī, Yādava(prakāśa), Viśvakoṣa, Haima [Abhidhānacintāmaṇi], Medini(kara), and Dhanaṃjayanāmamālā. Here and there we come across non-Sanskritic vocables like *Ḍillī-pati* "king of Delhi" or *pāti-śāha* "emperor".

40. *Keśava's Kalpadrukoṣa*

The reputation of being the doyen among 17th-century lexicographers has been gained with equal right by Keśava and Mathureśa Vidyālaṃkāra. Keśava is a total stranger to us as far as his background is concerned. His Kalpadrukoṣa,[238] with more than 4,300 Ślokas the longest synonymic dictionary in existence, deals in three "boughs" *(bhūmi-, bhuvaḥ-,* and *svargaskandha)* of seventeen, five, and four "branches" *(prakāṇḍa)* respectively with these topics:

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[235] V 4.16cd: *kṣiti-gagana-turaṃga-kṣoṇi-saṃkhye 'rka-varṣe śuci-dhavala-suṣaṣṭhyāṃ bhānu-vāre ca haste* "in the year of Arka [Vikramāditya] numbered by (the word-numerals) earth, horse, sky, and earth [1701], on the fine sixth (lunar day) of the bright (half) of Śuci [Āṣāḍha] and on a Sunday, when (the moon stood in the mansion of) Hasta."

[236] The Pañcatattvaprakāśa codex noticed by R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], IV, p. 48, substitutes *Mīramīrāsutâjñayā* for *śrī-Viśveśa-kṛpâjñayā* in V 4.17d. Besides this, Mīramīrāsuta is eulogized by Veṇīdatta in Padyaveṇī 55 and 101.

[237] Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 193 (codex unicus). Aufrecht is wrong in spelling the patron's name as *Asālati*; the form *Nasālati* (of which the *Asālati* of the title seems to be a Sanskritization) is certified not only by Padyaveṇī 56, 130, 135, and especially 151, but also by the introductory stanza (I 1d): *śrīman-* [MS. *śrīmān-*]*Nasālati-mahī-vara-khāna-nāmnā* "(a dictionary) with the name of the earth's best Khān — the glorious Nasālati."

[238] Edited by RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ, with index by SHRIKANTA SHARMA, GOS 42, 60, Baroda, 1928–32 (see TH. ZACHARIAE's critical comments in ZII 7, p. 58).

earth, sky, and heaven in general, country,[239] town, man, saintly family and priest, warrior, peasant, servant, adjectives, miscellanea, herb, deer etc., mountain, ocean, nether world, serpent, hell, and Jina; god in general, earthly gods, aerial gods, time, and dance; sun, Brahman,[239] sacrifice, indeclinables, and gender. In the chapter on time, the number of years having passed since the commencement of the Kaliyuga is stated to be 4761, whence it follows that the work was written in 1660/61 A.D.;[240] it cannot therefore have been cited by, and be earlier than, the commentators Mallinātha and Dinakara, as maintained by former scholars.[241] The introduction opens with a salutation to Śiva and lists as principal sources Kātya, Vācaspati, Vyāḍi, Bhāguri, the Amaramaṅgala, Sāhasāṅka, Maheśa, and Jina, that is, Hemacandra (I 1.2). Various labels are added to a word if form and context fail to make its gender clear: *striyām*, *striyi*, or *strī* to a feminine, *puṃsi*, *nā*, *nari*, *pumān*, or *pum* to a masculine, *klībe*, *ṣaṇ*, or *napuṃsakam* to a neuter, *dvayoḥ* to an epicene noun, and *triṣu* to a substantive of triple gender or an adjective (I 1.4–5). The ruling out of one gender automatically sanctions the other two genders. The particles *atha* and *tu* take the role of punctuation marks. A striking novelty is that, wherever any member of a compound can be superseded by a synonym, the compound is not given in the usual manner but paraphrased as such and such a word and its synonyms coming before or after such and such a word and its synonyms: e.g. *ekārthād radaparyāya īśārtho gaṇavighnayoḥ* instead of *ekarada*, *gaṇeśa*, and *vighneśa* (I 1.11ab). The method is cumbersome but helpful inasmuch as it tells at once which parts of a compound are constant and which variable. The Kalpadrukoṣa formed the basis of Galanos's compilation (§ 43).

41. Mathureśa Vidyālaṃkāra's Śabdaratnāvalī

Mathureśa Vidyālaṃkāra has already been mentioned as the writer of a Sārasundarī on Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana dated ś. 1588 or 1666/67 (§ 6). In the head- and tail-pieces of this commentary, he gives his line of ancestors to the fifth degree from himself: Sarvānandavandya Melavījin — Mādhava — Kāśīnātha — Candravandya — Śivarāma Cakravartin⚭Pārvatī — Mathureśa

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[239] The chapters on country and Brahman are treated as supplements *(aṅga)* to I 1 and III 1, and thus are not counted separately.

[240] II 4.83a: *tad-*[i.e. *Kali-*]*gatâbdāḥ ku-ti-thi-bhāḥ*. The numerical notation here is that of the Kaṭapayādi system, for which see G. Bühler, Indische Palaeographie von 350 a.Chr. – 1300 p.Chr., Straßburg, 1896, p. 82.

[241] Th. Aufrecht, [ABCIM 6], I, p. 126b; Th. Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher ⟨Kośa⟩, Straßburg, 1897, p. 36. The quotation in Mallinātha's scholium on Kirātārjunīya IX 77, specifically referred to by Aufrecht, is from a homonymic lexicon not identical with Keśavasvāmin's Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa either, which defines the vocable at issue *(kaṣāya)* in quite different terms (III 5.347).

Vidyālaṃkāra.[242] His Śabdaratnāvalī,[243] a combination of synonymic and homonymic dictionary, more or less agrees with the Amarakoṣa in structure but by far exceeds it in volume. It was prepared at the instance of Musa Khan,[244] a local chief in North-east Bengal, "after inspecting many treatises" (*vilokya bahutantrāṇi*, p. 1), especially Amarasiṃha's work (p. 32). The year of its compilation is unknown.[245]

At the end of the 11-stanza introduction, the author describes his method of gender indication, which relies on form, context, and label as optional means of discrimination. Nouns of common and triple gender are denoted by *dvayoḥ* and *triṣu* respectively, the latter applying to adjectives also. If one gender is prohibited, the other two are implicitly allowed. Copulative compounds are restricted as a rule to words of the same gender, being permitted with words of different gender only if the individual members recur elsewhere. The metre is Upajāti in the salutation (v. 1), Śārdūlavikrīḍita in the eulogy (vv. 2–5), and, except for three Sragdharā verses in the last chapter (p. 310), Anuṣṭubh throughout the rest of the book.

The synonymic part is divided into three sections *(kāṇḍa)* and 14 chapters *(varga)* concerned with the usual subjects: heaven and nether world *(svarādikāṇḍa*, p. 45); earth, towns, mountains, herbs, animals, man, and the four castes (*bhūkāṇḍa*, p. 158); adjuncts and varia. It includes a good number of Prakrit, Bengali, and Persico-Arabic words, both Sanskritized and un-Sanskritized. Some articles, like those on fishes (p. 41 f.) and elephants (p. 126 f.), impress by their wealth of information; others, like that on the serpent-goddess Manasā (p. 122), are remarkable for their comprehensiveness.

The homonymic part, which belongs to the tradition of Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa (§ 17), is arranged according to three consecutive criteria: the alphabetical sequence of the final consonants, with vocalic monosyllables coming last; the increasing number of syllables, with consonantal stem-finals counting full; and the alphabetical sequence of the initial sounds, with clusters figuring under their first elements. The lemmata stand in the nominative, the senses

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[242] Cf. J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 275.

[243] Edited rather carelessly by M.M. CHAUDHURI, BI 292, Calcutta, 1970, from a single old manuscript copied *1626 śakâbdā || . . . san 1111 16 i śrāvaṇa*, that is, Monday, 17 July 1704 (O.S.) or 28 July 1704 (N.S.). For other codices see TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 192; R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], I, p. 200 (homonymic part only), and III, p. 65; EGGELING, op. cit., p. 286. The edition by K.C. CHATTERJI, announced temporarily as SIAL 14, never appeared.

[244] Variously spelt Mucchā-, Mūchā-, Mūrchā-, Mūśā-, and Mṛśākhāna by the scribes. His father was 'Isa Khan (Īśākhāna, † 1599), his grandfather Sulaiman Khan (Śilamāna-, Śulamānakhāna).

[245] In spite of occasional assertions to the contrary going back to H.H. WILSON (Works, V, London, 1865, p. 233), who misunderstood a remark of H.T. COLEBROOKE (Miscellaneous Essays, II², London, 1873, p. 52, n. 1) to the effect that the Śabdaratnāvalī — and not the Sārasundarī — was written in ś. 1588.

follow either in the same case or — normally — in the locative. There are no Ekaśeṣas.

The indeclinables are treated separately, being grouped into homonyms and synonyms (in this order). A fourth part deals with gender, specifically the feminine, naming as sources Śarvavarman, Vararuci, and Durgasiṃha (p. 308).

42. *Śāhajī's Śabdaratnasamanvaya and Śabdārthasaṃgraha*

Its last bloom Koṣa literature saw at the turn of the 18th century when the Maratha king Śāhajī of Tanjore (1684–1712),[246] equally famed for his erudite scholarship and liberal patronage of the arts, published a comprehensive homonymic dictionary in 34 chapters *(varga)* called Śabdaratnasamanvaya or Rājakoṣa.[247] Making no mention of its sources,[248] but running to nearly the same pattern as Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśa, Medinikara's Nānārthaśabdakoṣa, and Śrīdharasena's Viśvalocana, this lexicon is organized on three consecutive principles: the alphabetical order of the last consonants (from *ka* to *kṣa*), the increasing number of syllables (from one to seven[249]), and the alphabetical order of the first phonemes (vowels or consonants-cum-vowels). Vowelless consonants as stem-finals pass for full syllables. Indeclinables are not dealt with at all. The articles keep more or less in the style of the Viśvalocana (§ 27). The metre is Indravajrā, twice Toṭaka, and Citralekhā in the first four stanzas, Śārdūlavikrīḍita in the colophon stanza, and Anuṣṭubh in the rest of the book.

Apart from the Śabdaratnasamanvaya, there is another homonymic dictionary going under Śāhajī's name: the Śabdārthasaṃgraha. It is a mere list of words followed by prose definitions and ranged in the alphabetical order of the final consonants as well as in an ascending scale of length. The only two manuscripts we know are incomplete, breaking off with *śantuḥ sukhavati*.[250]

43. *Demetrios Galanos*

A tentative effort to render the Indian method of dictionary-making more suitable to European needs was undertaken in the late 18th or early 19th cen-

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[246] Cf. K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore, Madras, 1928, p. 26.

[247] Critically edited by V.L. SHASTRI, GOS 59, Baroda, 1932. The articles on monosyllables have been gathered together in RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA's Ekākṣaranāmakoṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964.

[248] The line *utkhātakeliḥ śṛṅgādyair vaprakrīḍā nigadyate* (p. 101.7) is said in Mallinātha's scholia on Meghadūta I 2 and Raghuvaṃśa V 44 to be from Vācaspati's Śabdārṇava. See R. BIRWÉ, JAOS 85, p. 528.

[249] The longest vocables given are *samudranavanīta* "nectar, moon" (p. 167.5) and *turagabrahmacarya* "celibacy for want of a woman" (p. 249.11).

[250] Cf. P.P.S. SASTRI, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3911.

tury on behalf of Demetrios Galanos.[251] Born at Athens in 1760, this brilliant Hellene went to India at the age of 26 to tutor the children of the Greek colony at Calcutta and, after quitting his post in 1792, moved to Benares, where he occupied himself with linguistic and philosophical studies till his death on 3 May 1833. Utmost modesty kept him from having anything printed during his lifetime; but while the majority of his translations were brought out posthumously,[252] the thesaurus bearing his name — a collection of some 25,000 words — became known only through A. Weber's report[253] and C. Cappeller's excerpts for the shorter St. Petersburg Lexicon. It is a prose adaptation of Keśava's Kalpadrukoṣa (§ 40), which it reproduces faithfully in form and content, though not without a few borrowings from standard works like Amarasiṃha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana and Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.[254] The lemmata are put in the genitive and the synonyms added one by one in the nominative, all sandhi rules being disregarded. A number of errors have their root partly in the faultiness of the Kalpadrukoṣa manuscript used[255] and partly in a misinterpretation of the Kalpadrukoṣa itself. The real authorship is shrouded in mystery; it must be credited to one of Galanos's brahmin friends at Benares: possibly Kandar Das, who collaborated with him on the Bhagavadgītā, or Satul Singh, who is described as his intimate and master.

44. Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa

Something between a Koṣa and an Arthaśāstra is the Lokaprakāśa[256] credited to Kṣemendra, the famed Kashmirian polymath of the 11th century. It is a sort of notebook in four sections *(prakāśa)* giving a great deal of random in-

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[251] Cf. J. Gennadius, TICHR 3, vol. 2, p. 105 (the same writer's 42-page article Δημήτριος Γαλανὸς ὁ Ἕλλην Ἰνδολόγος, published in the Athens journal Ἑλληνισμός for February–April 1930, has come to our notice merely by title); E. Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde, I, Straßburg, 1917, p. 50; S.A. Schulz, JAOS 89, p. 339, and German Scholars on India, II, Bombay, 1976, p. 251.

[252] By G.K. Typaldos and G.A. Kosmetes, Δημητρίου Γαλανοῦ Ἀθηναίου Ἰνδικαὶ μεταφράσεις, I–VII, ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1845–53.

[253] A. Weber, MKPAW 1876, p. 804. He also made a Latin transcript of it, which was offered for sale after his death; see [ABCIM 331], p. 117. The original is preserved in the National Library of Greece, Athens; see I. and A.I. Sakkelion, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1892, p. 308 (No. 1841).

[254] Cf. Th. Zachariae, ZII 7, p. 54.

[255] Very probably codex C of R. Śarmā's edition, which is characterized as "incorrect" *(aśuddha)* in [ABCIM 14], p. 298.

[256] Edited and annotated by A. Weber, IS 18, p. 289 (with index by E. Sieg); rendered into French with introduction and comments by J. Bloch, Un manuel du scribe cachmirien au XVIIe siècle, [Thèse complémentaire,] Paris, 1914; newly edited by J.D. Zadoo, KSTS 75, Srinagar, 1947.

formation on Hindu daily life *(loka)* sought in vain elsewhere. Only the first and third sections, which make up about one fifth or sixth of the whole, are of a lexical nature; but even these differ from the usual pattern of synonymic dictionaries in that they care less about the realm of literature than about such trivial matters as geography, administration, and commerce. Correspondingly large is the number of hitherto unrecorded meanings and unknown words, many of which are of Persian and Kashmirian origin. Since the Emperor Shāhjahān (1628–58) is mentioned several times, the text cannot in its present form be as old as it claims to be; what we now have before us is possibly just a 17th-century retouch — and a rather slipshod one — of an earlier work that may or may not be from Kṣemendra's pen.

45. *Special dictionaries*

As well as the general dictionaries, which extend over the whole range of the Sanskrit language, Indian lexicography has produced a great many special dictionaries, which are restricted to certain word-groups or subjects, and which may be divided into the following categories:

(a) Ekākṣarakoṣas, concerned partly with monosyllabic nouns and particles and partly with mystical letters and syllables, and thus related to the Mātṛkākoṣas of Tantric literature, which record the hidden senses of characters employed in magic formulas and esoteric diagrams.[257] Subjoined is a selection of such vocabularies:

(1) the Ekākṣarakoṣa of Puruṣottamadeva, on which see above (§ 18), and its close imitations by Bhāskara Paṇḍita and Vararuci.

Vararuci's Ekākṣaranāmamālā (in 47 verses) has been edited by Ramaṇīkavijaya, Ekākṣaranāma-koṣasaṃgraha, RPG 64, Jodhpur, 1964, p. 71.

(2) the Ekākṣaranāmamālikā of Amaracandra, pupil of Jinadatta Sūri of the Vāyaḍagaccha, who lived in the years prior to Vīsaladeva Vāghela's coronation as king of Gujarat (1243–61); in 19 or 21 verses.

Edited by S.N. Tripathi, JMJG 6, Banaras, 1950 (together with Dhanaṃjaya's Nāmamālā), and by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., p. 80. For the author see R.G. Bhandarkar, [ABCIM 273], IV, p. 6.

(3) the Ekākṣaranāmamālā of Sudhākalaśa Gaṇi, pupil of Rājaśekhara Sūri of the Maladhārigaccha, who wrote his Saṃgītopaniṣad in s. 1380 [1323/24] and his Sāroddhāra thereof in s. 1406 [1349/50]; in 53 verses.

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[257] A collection of seven (twelve) such Koṣas — including, by way of contrast, Puruṣottamadeva's Ekākṣarakoṣa — is contained in A. Avalon's Tantrik Texts, I, Calcutta-London, 1913 ([2]1937).

Edited by V.J. Kaśelkar, MKJMM 21, Bombay, s. 1981 [1924/25] (together with Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and other texts); by Sāgarānanda Sūri, DLJP 92, Surat, 1946 (ditto; the edition in DLJP 87, Surat, 1933, is known to us by title only); and by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., p. 58. For the two dates see Puṇyavijayajī, [ABCIM 281], II, app., p. 418.

(4) the Ekākṣararatna- or -śabdamālā of Mādhava, son of Māyaṇa of the Bhāradvājagotra and minister of King Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1377–1404), which is quoted as Ekākṣaramādhavanighaṇṭu in Hemādri's Raghuvaṃśadarpaṇa; in three chapters and 130 verses.

Edited by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., p. 38. For the author see M.M. Patkar, PO 8, p. 118, who makes him a minister of Harihara I (1336–56), and V. Krishnamacharya, [ABCIM 191], VI, p. 331a. The work is distinct from a similar one entitled simply Nighaṇṭu and attributed to Harihara II himself, on which see V. Raghavan, ALB 1, p. 89, and V. Krishnamacharya, ibid., p. 331b.

(5) the Ekārtha- or Mātṛkānāmamālā and Dvyakṣaranāmamālā of Saubhari, which were written prior to s. 1639 [1582/83] — the date of their Bikaner manuscript; in 100 and 111 verses.[258]

Edited by E.D. Kulkarni, SIAL 12, Poona, 1955; reprinted by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., pp. 19 and 28. The lunisolar elements of the date as it is given *(saṃvat 1639 varṣe vaiśāṣa śudi 9 ravau)* do not work out satisfactorily.

(6) the Ekākṣaranāmamālā of Kālidāsa, son of Dāmodara of Prahlādapura, which was written before s. 1650 [1593/94] — the date of its Bikaner manuscript; in two chapters and 153 verses.

Edited by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., p. 123.

(7) the Ekākṣaranūtananāmamālā, Ekākṣaranāmāvalī, or Ekākṣaranāmamālikā of Viśvaśambhu Muni, who is quoted in the marginal glosses of the Codex Bodleianus 422 of Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and — if these glosses really are from Śrīvallabha Gaṇi's Nāmasāroddhāra — must have flourished prior to s. 1667 [1610/11]; in 115 verses.

Edited in the Saṃskṛtakośayugma, Karācī, ś. 1789 [1867/68]; by an anonym, Sholapur, 1908 (with Marathi meanings; together with Puruṣottamadeva's Ekākṣarakoṣa and Irugapa's Nānārtharatnamālā); and by Ramaṇīkavijaya, ibid., p. 1. For the Codex Bodleianus see Th. Aufrecht, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 185; for the gloss in point see O. Boehtlingk and C. Rieu's edition, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 315.

(8) the Mātṛkānighaṇṭa [!] of Mahīdāsa alias Mahīdhara, son of Rāmabhakta and pupil of Ratneśvara, who flourished at Benares towards the end of the 16th century; in 59 verses.

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[258] About 1600, Śrīvallabha Gaṇi (§ 21) undertook in his Vidvatprabodhaśāstra — an artificial poem in three cantos edited with comments by Ramaṇīkavijaya (ibid., p. 146) — to work the vocabulary of Saubhari's Dvyakṣaranāmamālā into descriptions of various beasts, birds, and characters (elephant, horse, bull, lion, camel; parrot, partridge, swan, heron, ruddy goose, crane, jacana, peacock, blue jay, wagtail; saint, scholar, hero).

Lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73], and reprinted by RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA, ibid., p. 104 (53 verses only). Edited by T. VIDYĀRATNA, Tantrik Texts, I, Calcutta-London, 1913, p. 35 (revised and enlarged by P. BHAṬṬĀCHĀRYA, ²1937, p. 35). For the author see TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 6], I, p. 444b.

(9) the Ekavarṇārthasaṃgraha of Bharatamallika alias Bharatasena, on whom see above (§ 6); in 61 verses.

Edited by S.C. BANERJI, IHQ 36, p. 29.

(10) the Mātṛkā- and Ekākṣaranighaṇṭa [!], the first and second chapters of the Sarvopayogikaratva, which forms part of the Śivāgama; in 64 and $31^1/_2$ verses.

Cf. E. LEUMANN, ACIO 6, pt. 3, p. 559. The Diṭṭhivāya, the lost twelfth Aṅga of the Jaina canon, is supposed to have begun with two similar chapters concerned with *māuyā-payāṇi* and *egaṭṭhiya-payāṇi*; but see W. SCHUBRING, Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin-Leipzig, 1935, p. 54, n. 4.

(11) the Ekākṣarakoṣa of Manohara Paṇḍita, whose date is unknown; in $31^1/_2$ verses.

Edited by RAMAṆĪKAVIJAYA, ibid., p. 120, from a unique manuscript written *saṃvat 1884 śāke 1749 pauṣa sudi 3 bhṛgau* or Friday, 21 December 1827.

(b) Avyayakoṣas, concerned with indeclinables, as for example:

(12) the Avyayārṇava of Jayabhaṭṭa Kavirāja, which is based on the Śabdārṇava (§ 3); in three chapters.

Cf. M. RANGACHARYA, [ABCIM 199], III, p. 1113.

(13) the Avyayakoṣa of Mahādeva; in 75 verses.

Lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73].

(c) Śabdabhedakoṣas, concerned with words that have several — usually two — spellings, as for example:

(14) the Śabdabhedaprakāśa of Maheśvara, on which see above (§ 17).

(15) the Dvirūpakoṣa of Puruṣottamadeva, on which see above (§ 18).

(16) the Śabdabhedaprakāśa of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, son of Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa and father of Bhānuji Dīkṣita, who flourished in the last quarter of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th centuries.

Cf. M. RANGACHARYA, [ABCIM 199], III, p. 1203. For Bhaṭṭoji's date see P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay, 1953, p. 52.

(17) the Śabdaratnākara or Śabdaprabheda of Sādhusundara Gaṇi, pupil of Sādhukīrti Upādhyāya of the Kharataragaccha, whose Dhāturatnākara was written in s. 1680 [1623/24]; in 1011 verses.

Edited by HARGOVINDDAS and BECHARDAS, YJG 36, Benares, 1913. A Ṭippaṇa thereon is listed by PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, [ABCIM 281], II, p. 794. For the date of the Dhāturatnākara see v. 20 of its colophon; v. sup. (note 147).

(18) the Dvirūpakoṣa of Śrīharṣa, son of Śrīhīra and — like his famous namesake, for whom he is therefore often mistaken — author of a Naiṣadhamahākāvya, who lived in Āndhra in the 18th century; in 236 verses.

Cf. M. Rangacharya, ibid., p. 1121; P.P.S. Sastri, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3766. A short version of only 57 stanzas has been lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73], where it is the first text of this title and goes under the name of Puruṣottamadeva. The editions published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press in Bombay (under the title Śabdabhedaprakāśa), by the Arsha Press in Vizagapatam, and in the Granthapradarśanī were not available to us. For the author, whose Amarakhaṇḍana has been mentioned above (§ 6), see V. Raghavan, The Amaramaṇḍana of Kṛṣṇasūri, Poona, 1949, introd., p. 5.

(19) the Dvirūpadhvanisaṃgraha of Bharatamallika alias Bharatasena, on whom see above (§ 6); in 278 verses.

Edited by S.C. Banerji, ABORI 45, p. 49.

(20) the Vaibhāṣikakoṣa of Kṛṣṇakavi, son of King Lakṣaṇa and Queen Mallikā, with the author's own commentary, written in the Kali years 4869 [1768/69] and 4882 [1781/82] respectively; in 11 chapters and 1111 verses.

Cf. M. Rangacharya, ibid., p. 1200.

(d) Varṇakoṣas, concerned with the proper spelling of words that show orthographic fluctuations between cognate consonants, as for example:

(21) the Ūṣmaviveka of Gadasiṃha, which treats of sibilant-variations; in 112 verses.

Edited with commentary by Parameśvara Jhā, Darbhaṅgā, ś. 1812 [1890/91].

(22) the Varṇadeśanā of Puruṣottamadeva, on which see above (§ 18).

(23) the Varṇaprakāśa of Kavikarṇapūra, chief minister of King Amaramāṇikya of Tripurā or Tippera (1577–81), which was written for the latter's son, the subsequent king Rājādharamāṇikya I (1586–1600), and deals with interchanging *ja/ya, ṇa/na, ba/va,* and *śa/ṣa/sa.*

Cf. J. Eggeling, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 293; Haraprasāda Çāstrī, [ABCIM 118], I, pp. ix and 333; id., [ABCIM 51], VI, p. clii.

(e) Uṇādikoṣas, concerned with words that are formed by means of the so-called Uṇādi-suffixes, as for example:

(24) the Nānārthaśabdaratna of Kālidāsa II (with a commentary, styled Taralā, of his friend Nicula Kavi Yogicandra), who flourished under King Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā (c. 1018–60); in three chapters.

Cf. M. Sashagiri Śastri, IA 1, p. 341; M. Rangacharya, [ABCIM 199], III, pp. 1170 and 1172.

(25) the Uṇādināmamālā of Śubhaśīla Gaṇi, pupil of Munisundara Sūri and Lakṣmīsāgara Sūri of the Tapāgaccha, who flourished in the second half of the 15th century; in six chapters modelled on Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.

Cf. C. Bendall, [ABCIM 157], p. 170. For the author see above (§ 21).

(26) the Uṇādikoṣa or Nijavinoda of Mahādeva Vedāntin, pupil of Svayaṃprakāś(ānand)a or Saccidānanda Sarasvatī, who wrote his Viṣṇusahasranāmaṭīkā in s. 1750 [1693/94]; in five chapters and 739 verses.

Edited with Uṇādisūtras and glossarial index by K.K. RAJA, MUSS 21, Madras, 1956.

(27) the Uṇādinighaṇṭu of Veṅkaṭeśvara, son of Dakṣiṇāmūrti of the Kauṇḍinya family and pupil of Rāmabhadra Makhin, who worked at Tanjore during Śāhajī's reign (1684–1712); in five chapters and 720 verses.

Cf. A.C. BURNELL, [ABCIM 306], p. 52b; P.P.S. SASTRI, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3735. Burnell gives the title as Śābdikavidvatkavipramodaka, which is, however, just a decorative epithet.

(28) the Uṇādikoṣa of Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa (with a Ṭīkā of the same), which was written in the late 17th or early 18th century and made ample use of in Rādhākānta's Śabdakalpadruma; in two parts of 511 and 295 verses.

Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras, Bonn, 1859, p. xxi; id., [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 176; R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], II, p. 24; J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 2, p. 238; HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, [ABCIM 51], VI, p. lxxxvii.

(29) the Uṇādipratyayāntaśabdakoṣa or Lakṣmīnivāsa of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokacandra, who quotes Nāgojībhaṭṭa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara in his Lakṣmīvilāsa (on Nakṣatramālā 9) and hence is placed by Th. Aufrecht in the early 18th century; in five chapters.

Lithographed in the Ṣaṭkośasaṃgraha, Kāśī, s. 1930 [1873/74]. Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 6], I, p. 652b.

(30) the Auṇādikapadārṇava of Peru Sūri, son of Veṅkaṭa of the Śrīdhara family and pupil of Vāsudeva Adhvarin or Dīkṣita, whom K.K. Raja places between Ujjvaladatta and Mahādeva, whereas V. Raghavan takes his teacher to be the Siddhāntakaumudī scholiast of that name patronized by Kings Śāhajī (1684–1712), Śarabhojī I (1712–28), and Tukkojī (1728–36) of Tanjore, or rather by their minister Ānandarāya; in five chapters but handed down only as far as IV 465.

Edited by T.R. CHINTAMANI, MUSS 7.4, Madras, 1939. Cf. K.K. RAJA, Uṇādikośa of Mahādeva Vedāntin, Madras, 1956, p. xiv, and V. RAGHAVAN's Foreword, p. 3.

(f) Saṃkhyākoṣas, concerned with series of things or concepts whose number of items is fixed, as for example:

(31) the Vastuvijñānaratnakoṣa or shortly Ratnakoṣa of an unknown Jaina, which treats in 100 sentences *(sūtra)* and appropriate explanations *(vyākhyāna)* of the three worlds, the three places of existence, the three forms of the earth's

surface, the three persons in grammar, the three categories in philosophy,[259] the four aims of man, the 36 royal families, the seven requisites of kingship, etc.

Cf. P. Peterson, [ABCIM 274], III, p. 267; Haraprasāda Shāstrī, [ABCIM 51], VI, p. 322. For a similar Jaina work, also styled Ratnakoṣa and written by an anonym, see Th. Aufrecht, [ABCIM 238], I 2, p. 352.

(g) Nighaṇṭus or medico-botanical glossaries, concerned with the names — and sometimes the medical properties — of plants, animals, foods, minerals, and remedies of all sorts. The earliest Nighaṇṭu preserved is:

(32) the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu, which is held to be even earlier than the Amarakoṣa by Kṣīrasvāmin (II 4.50), but cannot be so old in its present form since it deals with such relatively modern Āyurvedic drugs as mercury (VI 37–39) and opium (VI 121); known in two versions of seven and nine chapters respectively, the latter having been supplemented as against the standard version by one chapter each on poisons and antidotes.

Edited by S.K. Śāstrī and P.V. Rāu, Madras, 1892 ([2]1920) (with Telugu interpretation); by N. Purandare, ĀSS 33, Poona, 1896 ([2]1927) (together with Narahari's Rājanighaṇṭu); and by L. Śāligrāma, Bombay, s. 1957 [1900/01] (with Hindi rendering). P.V. Sharma, IJHS 5, p. 364, places it in the 10th century. A Tibetan translation, entitled sMan-miṅ-sgra-sbyor-ṅes-pa or *Bheṣajanāmanighaṇṭu and prepared by Ñi-ma-rgyal-mthsan in the late 13th or early 14th century, is recorded in Bu-ston's Chos-'byuṅ (gSuṅ-'bum, vol. 24 *[ya]*, fol. 171b2–3); it was not, however, included in the Lamaist canon and does not appear to have been transmitted.

Other important Nighaṇṭus, most of them based upon the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu, are:

(33) the Paryāyaratnamālā of Mādhavakara, son of Indrakara and resident of Śilāhrada, which has been quoted as early as 1159 A.D. in Sarvānanda's Ṭīkāsarvasva and thus ranks only second in age to the Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu, the author being almost certainly identical with that of the Mādhavanidāna, who must have flourished about 700; in 649$^1/_2$ verses.

Edited by K. Viṭsarakāra, Calcutta, san 1298 [1891/92]; by C. Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta, san 1341 [1934/35] (with Bengali translation, breaking off with v. 362); and by T. Chowdhury, Patna, 1946 (~PUJ 2, app.). Cf. G.J. Meulenbeld, The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary, Leiden, 1974, p. 10.

(34) the Paryāyamuktāvalī of Haricaraṇa Sena, probably a native of Bengal, who bases himself on Mādhavakara's Paryāyaratnamālā (introd. v. 2), but whose actual date is still unknown; in 23 chapters and 618$^1/_2$ verses.

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[259] Specified as element *(dhātu)*, root *(mūla)*, and soul *(jīva)* and thus different from the usual three categories in Jainism, which are constituted by substance *(dravya)*, quality *(guṇa)*, and state *(paryāya)*. — We are grateful to Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen, for looking up this definition in a Sinhalese manuscript of the text found in his private library.

Printed at Cuttack, 1875 and 1907 (with Oriya interpretation); edited by T. CHOWDHURY, Patna, 1947 (~ JBRS 31–32, app.).

(35) the Dravyaguṇa(saṃgraha) of Cakra(pāṇi)datta, scion of the Lodhravalī family and pupil of Naradatta, whose father Nārāyaṇa — or, according to a less likely version, who himself — served as head-cook and minister to King Nayapāla of Bengal (c. 1038–55); in 21 chapters and 543 verses. Commentaries on it were written by Niścalakara, son of Sadānandakara, in the reign of King Rāmapāla of Bengal (c. 1077–1120) and by Śivadāsasena, a resident of Mālañcikā in Pabna District, whose father Anantasena was the court-physician of Sultan Bārbak Shāh of Bengal (c. 1459–76).

Edited by D.N. SEN, Calcutta, 1871; with Śivadāsasena's commentary by K.C. SEN GUPTA, Calcutta, ?, by an anonym, Calcutta, ś. 1796 [1874/75], and by J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Kalikātā, [2]1897; with Hindi translation by J. MIŚRA, Bombay, 1925. Cf. G.J. MEULENBELD, ibid., pp. 400, 414, 429.

(36) the Śabdacandrikā of the same author, which was utilized in Rādhākānta's Śabdakalpadruma; in nine chapters.

Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, [ABCIM 238], I 1, p. 195; R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], II, p. 25; J. EGGELING, [ABCIM 164], I 5, p. 974.

(37) the Śabdapradīpa of Surapāla alias Sureśvara, scion of a family of medical men who acted as court-physicians to several kings of Bengal: his great-grandfather Devagaṇa to Govindacandra, his father Bhadreśvara to Rāmapāla (c. 1077–1120), and he himself to one Bhīmapāla; homonymic, with the vocables given in the order of their first letters (from *a* to *kṣa*); in two sections and numerous chapters.

Cf. J. EGGELING, ibid., p. 974; N.N. DAS GUPTA, IC 3, p. 158.

(38) the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa of Hemacandra, on which see above (§ 24).

(39) the Guṇasaṃgraha of Soḍhala, a brahmin of the Rāyakavāla family in the Vatsagotra, son of Svaccha Vaidya and pupil of Asoḍha, who seems to have lived late in the 12th century; in nine chapters, of which the eighth is subdivided into 18 paragraphs.

Cf. P.V. SHARMA, ABORI 52, p. 141. The oldest known manuscript is dated *saṃvat 1469 varṣe prathama-āṣāḍha-māse śukla-pakṣe ṣaṣṭhyāṃ tithau ravi-dine* or Sunday, 4 June 1413; see H.D. SHARMA, [ABCIM 264], XVI 1, p. 73.

(40) the Dravyaguṇa of Mādhava Kavi, which, being quoted in Vopadeva's Siddhamantraprakāśa, must have been written in the former half of the 13th century at the latest; in 29 chapters and 914 stanzas.

Cf. P.V. SHARMA, BIHM 1, p. 99, who bases himself on a rare Benares codex dated s. 1509 [1452/53].

(41) the Śabdaratnapradīpa or Ratnapradīpanighaṇṭu suggested by Kāśīrāma, a Sārasvata brahmin of the Bhāradvājagotra and renowned physician in Mathurā, son of Mathurādāsa and grandson of Gurudāsa (of Argalā); and

composed by his pupil Kalyāṇadāsa, son of Nāmadeva and grandson of Lakṣmīdhara, who resided at Bahādurapura during the reign of Yādava Tulasīdāsa, son of King Gopāla and founder of that city, possibly towards the end of the 13th century;[260] homonymic, the catchwords being recorded in the alphabetical order of their first letters (from *a* to *kṣa*).

Cf. P. PETERSON, [ABCIM 323], p. 54, and extracts, p. 103. On the strength of the post-colophon statement given there, the work is often claimed to have been written by Kāśīrāma at the instance of Kalyāṇadāsa; the facts are, however, quite clear from the introduction and the colophon proper.

(42) the Madanavinoda or Madanaratna of Madanapāla, scion of the Ṭāka family and rajah of Kāṣṭhā or Kāṭhā (modern Kathah in Meerut District), which is dated Monday, 8 January 1375; in 13 chapters, to which some manuscripts add the author's genealogy as a 14th chapter.

Lithographed at Kāśī, s. 1926 [1869/70] (²s. 1932 [1875/76]) (together with Trimallabhaṭṭa's Dravyaguṇaśataślokī). Edited at Benares, 1847 (with Hindi translation); by J. VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta, 1875; by RAVIDATTA, Bombay, s. 1951 [1894/95] (with Hindi translation); by RĀMAPRASĀDA, Mumbaī, s. 1966 [1909/10] (new ed. 1954) (with Hindi translation); by D. and U. SENA GUPTA, Kalikātā, san 1320 [1913/14] (with Bengali translation); by B.D. ŚARMMĀ, Amadāvād, 1918 (with Gujarati translation); and by TRYAMBAKA ŚĀSTRĪ, Kāśī, s. 1978 [1921/22] (³s. 1990 [1933/34]) (with Hindi lemmata and glosses). The date is found at XIV 14ab: *abde brahma-jagad-yugêndu-gaṇite śrī-Vikramārka-prabhor māghe māsi valakṣa-pakṣa-lalite ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sudhāṃśor dine* "in the year of the glorious lord Vikramārka counted by (the numerals) Brahman, world, aeon, and moon [1431], in the month Māgha, in the charm(ing time) of the bright fortnight, on the sixth, the day of the nectar-rayed one [moon]." For the author see R. ROTH, IS 14, p. 398; J. EGGELING, ibid., p. 978.

(43) the Abhidhānaratnamālā or Ṣaḍrasanighaṇṭu of an anonym, which is quoted twice by Mallinātha (on Śiśupālavadha I 19 and XVI 18) and hence must have been written early in the 15th century at the very latest; in six chapters corresponding to the six flavours *(rasa)*.

Printed with Telugu interpretation at Madras, 1881 and 1928 (²1939).

(44) the Rājanighaṇṭu or Nighaṇṭurāja — also called Abhidhānacūḍāmaṇi — of Narahari, son of Īśvarasūri and pupil of Śrīkaṇṭha, who flourished in Kashmir after 1375, probably in the 15th century, since he names Madanapāla's Madanavinoda among his sources (introd. v. 5); with 23 chapters and 3685 verses (in Bhattacharjya's edition) the largest Nighaṇṭu extant.

Lithographed at Kāśī, 1883 (with glosses also in Marathi, Kanarese, and Hindi). Edited by N. PURANDARE, ĀSS 33, Poona, 1896 (²1927) (together with Dhanvanta-

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[260] Provided that the above Gopāla is identical with the Mathurā ruler of that name subdued by Mallāya, the donee of the Dahi copper-plate grant dated *samvat 1337 samayā vaisākha sudi 15 ravidine* or Sunday, 4 May 1281. See A. CUNNINGHAM, ASIR 21, p. 74, and H.C. RAY, The dynastic History of northern India (early mediaeval period), II, Calcutta, 1936, p. 732.

rinighaṇṭu), as well as by A.B. and N.B. BHATTACHARJYA, Calcutta, 1899 (²1933). The 13th chapter was edited and put into German by R. GARBE, Die indischen Mineralien, Leipzig, 1882.

(45) the Dravyaguṇaśataślokī or -śataka — also called Pathyāpathyanighaṇṭu — of Trimallabhaṭṭa, a Tailaṅga brahmin of Tripurāntakanagara or Benares, son of Vallabhabhaṭṭa and grandson of Siṅgaṇṇabhaṭṭa, who flourished in the 15th century; in 15 chapters and 101 verses. A commentary on this work, styled Dravyadīpikā, is owed to Kṛṣṇadatta, whose father Śivadatta wrote the Śivakoṣa and Śivaprakāśa (see No. 46).

Lithographed at Kāśī, s. 1926 [1869/70] (²s. 1932 [1875/76]) (together with Madanapāla's Madanavinoda). Edited by KṚṢṆALĀLA, Mumbaī, s. 1951 [1894/95], and by ŚĀLIGRĀMA VAIŚYA, Baṃbaī, s. 1953 [1896/97] (both with Hindi translation). The upper and lower limits of the author's floruit are fixed by the Vīrasiṃhāvaloka (dated s. 1439 or 1382/83), which he quotes in his Yogataraṃgiṇī, and the Dravyaguṇaśataślokī manuscript of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (dated s. 1555 or 1498/99); see H.D. VELANKAR, [ABCIM 33], I, p. 59. According to P.V. SHARMA, IJHS 6, p. 67, he lived c. 1650 because of his citing Lolimbarāja's Vaidyajīvana and being cited in the Yogaratnākara; but Lolimbarāja's time is still uncertain, as has been shown by P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, II, Bombay, 1954, p. 79. For the commentary see H.D. SHARMA, ibid., p. 122 (and P.K. GODE, op. cit., III, Poona, 1956, p. 46); G.V. DEVASTHALI, [ABCIM 37], I, p. 112.

(46) the Śivakoṣa of Śivadatta, son of Caturbhuja of the Karpūra family of physicians and resident of Benares, being a homonymic dictionary in 540 verses dated ś. 1599 [1677/78], which is arranged alphabetically according to final consonants and accompanied by an auto-commentary entitled Śivaprakāśa.

Critically edited by R.G. HARSHE, SIAL 7, Poona, 1952. The date of composition is given in the last stanza: *nava-graha-tithi-prāpte hāyane Hāla-bhūbhujaḥ* "in the year of King Hāla [Śālivāhana] got by (the numerals) nine, planet, and lunar day [1599]." For the author see P.K. GODE, op. cit., III, Poona, 1956, p. 43.

(47) the Sarasvatīnighaṇṭu, fathered upon Śāśvata (§ 7) but doubtless of Ceylonese origin; in six chapters and 348 verses.

Edited by D.H.S. KAVIRATNA, Colombo, 1865 (²1884, ⁷1947); by G.W.G. GUṆAVARDHANA, Koḷam̐ba, 1918 (with detailed comments); by M.S. ÑĀṆOBHĀSATISSA, Jā-äla, 1947; and by D. GUṆASĒNA, Nugēgoḍa, 1970. – Personal communication from Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen.

(48) the (Vaidya)siddhauṣadhanighaṇṭu, of Ceylonese origin and still required reading for Ceylonese students of Āyurveda; in 206 verses.

Edited by D.H.S. KAVIRATNA, Nugēgoḍa, 1878 (³1946) (with comments), and by A.D.S. GUṆATILAKA, ?, 1932 (with Sinhalese catchwords and paraphrase). — Personal communication from Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen.

Difficult to fit in, both as to its date and as to its sources, is

(49) an abridged Nighaṇṭu found in the first section of the Garuḍapurāṇa, which is variously counted as chapter 202, 204, and 208 and numbers between 86 and 95 verses.

Cf. R. Birwé, ABORI, D. J. Vol., p. 47. An edition and English translation by the same author is in progress.

(h) Jyotiṣakoṣas, concerned with astronomical and astrological terms, as for example:

(50) the Gaṇita- or Jyotiṣanāmamālā of Haridatta, a brahmin of the Kaṇḍūla or Kaṇḍola family and son of Śrīpati, whose time is unknown; in 128 verses.

Lithographed in the Dvādaśakośasaṃgraha, Vārāṇasī, ś. 1787 [1865/66] and s. 1929 [1872/73].

(51) several short lists of the names of the lunar mansions *(nakṣatra)*, numerals *(aṅka, saṃkhyā)*, zodiacal signs *(rāśi)*, and planets *(graha)*.

Some texts of this kind are found printed in Ś. Tarkapañcānana, Koṣaratnākara, I, Dacca, 1870; G. Tarkaratna, Koṣacandrikā, Ḍhākā, 1893 (with Bengali translation); and G. V. Bhaṭṭācāryya, Koṣasaṃgraha, Calcutta, san 1314 [1907/08] and 1331 [1924/25].

(i) Dharmakoṣas (in prose), concerned with Buddhist nomenclature, as for example:

(52) the Dharmasaṃgraha attributed to Nāgārjuna (2nd cent. A.D.); in 140 paragraphs.

Edited by K. Kasawara (finalized and published by F.M. Müller and H. Wenzel), AOx 1, pt. 5, Oxford, 1885; reprinted by P.L. Vaidya, Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṁgraha, I, Darbhanga, 1961, p. 329.

(53) the *Dharmasaṃgrahanāmasaṃkhyāsūtra, closely related to — but not immediately dependent on — the Dharmasaṃgraha; in 61 paragraphs.

Extant only in a late-10th-century Chinese translation (TI 17, No. 764: [**3**] Fa-chi ming-shu ching) made by Dānapāla ([**4**] Shih-hu) of the later Sung dynasty. Reconstructed in Sanskrit by F. Weller, Der chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha, Leipzig, 1923.

(54) the Dharmaśarīrasūtra, a mere list of 36 general terms (without specifications or explanations) discovered at Xočo, Chinese Turkestan, and also related to — but not dependent on — the Dharmasaṃgraha.

Edited from Turfan MS. T I D 673 by H. Stönner, SKPAW 1904, p. 1282, with facsimile on pl. 15. For another facsimile reproduction see E. Waldschmidt, Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, II, Wiesbaden, 1968, pl. 131 (No. 596). Bibliographical information about a Khotanese version is given by M. J. Dresden, AI 12, p. 77.

A special type of Dharmakoṣa, so to speak, are those texts which list names and epithets of Buddhas, as for example, (55) the (Ārya)bhadrakalpikāsūtra and (56) the (Ārya)mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti.

Ad (55): Edited in Manchu, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongol by F. Weller, Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa, Leipzig, 1928; the Sanskrit portion

[3], [4] see below, p. 383.

made known as early as 1834 by I.J. SCHMIDT, MAIS 6, t. 2, p. 68. It is different from the work of this title found in the Kanjur. For a Khotanese parallel see S. KONOW, Saka Versions of the Bhadrakalpikāsūtra, Oslo, 1929, and S. TAKUBO, Tonkō Shutsudo Utengo Himitsu Kyōtenshū no Kenkyū [Studies on the Khotanese collection of the esoteric Sūtras found in Tunhuang], Tōkyō, 1975, pp. 58, 132, 209, 316.

Ad (56): Edited in Sanskrit by I.P. MINAEV, Buddizm, I 2, Sanktpeterburg, 1887, p. 135 (see TH. ZACHARIAE, GGA 1888, p. 847); in Mongol, Sanskrit, and Tibetan (with facsimiles of Altan Khan's 16th-century quadrilingual edition) by RAGHU VIRA, ŚPS 18, New Delhi, n.d. [c. 1960]; in Sanskrit and Tibetan by D.D. MUKHERJI, Calcutta, 1963; in Uigur by G. KARA and P. ZIEME, BTT 8, Berlin, 1977, p. 81. It opens the rGyud or Tantra section of the Kanjur and has given rise to a whole string of secondary works handed down in the corresponding section of the Tanjur; a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript of Līlāvajra's alias Vilāsavajra's Ṭīkā styled Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī has been noticed by C. BENDALL, [ABCIM 61], p. 203. — For the meaning of *saṃgīti* see V. TRENCKNER, Pali Miscellany, I, London, 1879, p. 57, n.

46. Bilingual and multilingual dictionaries

With the gaining in weight of regional and foreign languages, which made itself felt in India from the 11th century onwards, a novel type of lexicon came into being: bilingual and multilingual dictionaries. These too were given the form of ordinary Koṣas, the medium of composition being as a rule Sanskrit. Here is a list of such works:

(1) the Vastukoṣa of Nāgavarman, son of Veṇṇamayya and Pōḷakabbe (or Pōtikabbe), a synonymic [?] Sanskrit-Kanarese dictionary compiled from Vararuci, Halāyudha, Bhāguri, Śāśvata, the Amarakoṣa, etc. and composed in many artificial metres; the author, who was descended from a brahmin family of the Kauṇḍinyagotra residing at Veṅgī, and later was converted to Jainism, wrote on rhetoric, prosody, and grammar also, and seems to have flourished c. 1070–1120, quoting as he does the poet Nayasena, whose Dharmāmṛta is dated ś. 1037 [1115/16].

Cf. F. KITTEL, IA 4, p. 15; L. RICE, JRAS N.S. 15, p. 306.

(2) the Abhidhāna of Abhinava Maṅgarāja, an omnibus Sanskrit-Kanarese dictionary compiled in ś. 1320 [1398/99] from Vararuci, Gopālika [Vopālita], Bhāguri, Dhanaṃjaya, Surahari [?], the Viśvaprakāśa, Nāgavarman, the Vaijayantī, Halāyudha, and Dhūmāca (vv. 1 and 4), and divided into five sections with numerous chapters totalling 539 Ṣaṭpadī stanzas and treating of heaven, earth, nether world, general topics, and homonyms.

Cf. F. KITTEL, IA 1, p. 345; L. RICE, JRAS N.S. 15, p. 313.

(3) a systematic Sanskrit-Kawi dictionary of unknown authorship and title based on a hitherto unidentified Koṣa and meant to facilitate the reading of works of Old Javanese literature.

Cf. H. KERN, ACIO 6, pt. 3, p. 1.

(4) the Rājakoṣanighaṇṭu or Rājavyavahārakoṣa of Raghunātha Paṇḍita, son of Nārāyaṇa and minister of Śivājī (1674–80), a list of administrative terms in Marathi, Telugu, or Persian with their equivalents in Sanskrit, composed by royal order and arranged subjectwise in ten chapters.

Cf. A.C. BURNELL, [ABCIM 306], p. 48a; P.P.S. SASTRI, [ABCIM 302], IX, p. 3880. The real author was Ḍhuṇḍirāja Vyāsa, son of Lakṣmaṇa Vyāsa and commentator (in ś. 1635 or 1713/14) of Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa.

(5) a systematic Sanskrit-Newari dictionary of unknown authorship and title based on the Amarakoṣa and possibly written at Kathmandu between 1450 and 1750; in eight chapters (of 265 Ślokas all told) dealing with heaven and sky, nether world, earth, towns, mountains, plants, animals, and man.

Edited with German translation by A. CONRADY, ZDMG 47, p. 539.

(6) the Pārasīnāmamālā or Śabdavilāsa of Minister Salakṣa, a systematic Persian-Sanskrit dictionary in two sections with numerous chapters and subchapters composed at the request of King Haribhrama alias Haribrahman of Īlavaraṇa or Īladurga (modern Idar in Gujarat) and completed in the beginning of Caitra of s. 1422 [1365].

Cf. U.P. SHAH, Sambodhi 1, p. 29. The author's son was Mahīpa, on whom see above (§ 29). — This work is identical with the Yavana- or Toruṣkīnāmamālā erroneously attributed to one Pratāpabhaṭṭa by PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, [ABCIM 281], II, p. 794, as appears from the introductory [!] six stanzas recorded by him in the Appendix, p. 404.[261]

(7) the Pārasīprakāśa of Kṛṣṇadāsa, a systematic Persian-Sanskrit dictionary in 12 chapters and 258½ Ślokas (with 1062 entries) compiled at the direction of the Emperor Akbar (1556–1605).

Lithographed by MANNĀLĀLA ŚARMAN, Vārāṇasī, s. 1923 [1866/67]. Edited with German translation and indices by A. WEBER, Berlin, 1887. The oldest known manuscript, codex 496 of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, is dated *saṃvat 1666 samaya śrāvaṇa śukla 8 śukra-vāsare*, that is, Friday, 28 July 1609 (O.S.) or 7 August 1609 (N.S.); see R. MITRA, [ABCIM 219], III, p. 329 with pl. 9, and H. SHĀSTRĪ, [ABCIM 51], VI, p. 269.

(8) the Pārasīprakāśa of Mālajit or Mallajit Vedāṅgarāya, son of Tigalābhaṭṭa and grandson of Ratnabhaṭṭa of Śrīsthala in Gujarat, a systematic Persico-Arabic and Sanskrit dictionary of astronomical and astrological terms

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[261] Still undescribed are three similar lexica: the Yavananāmamālā of Vidyānilaya Kavi dated s. 1421 [1364/65]; the (Saṃskṛta)pārasīka(pada)prakāśa of Kavikarṇapūra written by order of the Emperor Jahangir (1605–27); and the Yavanīnāmamālikā or Tauruṣkīnāmamālā of a Jaina anonym called Chief Minister Soma's son *(Soma-mantrīśvarâtmaja)*. See respectively H.D. VELANKAR, [ABCIM 330], I, p. 318; C. CHAKRAVARTI, B.C. Law Volume, II, Poona, 1946, p. 180; PUṆYAVIJAYAJĪ, loc. cit.

written under the auspices of the Emperor Shāhjahān (1628–58), evidently in ś. 1565 or 1053 A.H. [1643/44], for which year is illustrated the transformation of Hindu into Mohammedan dates and vice versa.

Cf. R.G. BHANDARKAR, [ABCIM 273], III, pp. 34 and 219.

(9) the Pārasī(prakāśa)vinoda of Vrajabhūṣaṇ(ānand)a, son of Raghunātha and grandson of Viṣṇu, a close imitation (with less detailed mathematical calculations) of Vedāṅgarāya's Pārasīprakāśa completed in s. 1716 [1659/60].

Cf. H. SHĀSTRĪ, [ABCIM 51], VI, p. 272.[262]

An exceptional position among the bilingual and multilingual dictionaries is held by the Buddhist lexica of this category. Written in prose and mostly of non-Indian authorship, they bear a stronger similarity to the Vedic Nighaṇṭus than to the classical Koṣas. Those best known are:

(10) the Mahāvyutpatti, a Sanskrit-Tibetan encyclopaedia in 283 chapters totalling 9565 entries — words, verb-forms, phrases, sentences — and treating of the religious and profane vocabulary of Buddhist literature with a view to standardizing translational Tibetan; commenced by order of King Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan alias Sad-na-legs (c. 800–15) in the horse year 814, and completed under his successor Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan alias Ral-pa-can (c. 815–36), by a joint commission including on the Indian side the ācāryas Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śīlendrabodhi, Dānaśīla, and Bodhimitra, on the Tibetan side Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāśīla, and the lo-tsā-bas Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendraśīla, et al.

Along with the Madhyavyutpatti, a commentary styled Pañjikā on some notable words therein, canonized as part of the mDo or Sūtra section of the Tanjur: Chone

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[262] The precise date of compilation is found in a corrupt colophon stanza, written in the Upajāti metre, which may be rectified as follows:

Viṣṇoḥ suta-śrī-Raghunātha-sūnunā
sumedhasâsau Vrajabhūṣaṇena |
rasêndu-śailêndu-mite ca phālgune
samāpi . . . . . . bhṛgau ca || 4 ||

a: *Viṣṇo* P; *stu* C, *sutaṃ* P; *sūnu* P. — b: *śumedhasaṃ sau* P. — c: *rasandu* P; *śailêndra* C; *mitā* P; *phālguṇe* P. — d: *samāptam atra mavivvāvvamad bhṛgau ca* C, *samāptimātrā vigad bhṛgau ca* P. [C: MS. 8229 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, described by H. SHĀSTRĪ, loc. cit.; P: MS. 166/A. 1883–84 of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, kindly inspected for us by Prof. R.N. Dandekar.]

The dotted portion is hopelessly mangled in both witnesses. If we were to read *pratipad-* for P's *vigad*, though, the date would work out satisfactorily at Friday, 17 February 1660 (O.S.) or 27 February 1660 (N.S.), when the first lunar day of the dark amānta Phālguna of the expired Vikrama year 1716 ended about 5 h. after mean sunrise at Ujjain. A prosodically and substantially correct restoration of the last hemistich would therefore be *samāpi kṛṣṇa-pratipad-bhṛgau ca*, and the whole verse would then have to be rendered: "By the son of Viṣṇu's son Śrī Raghunātha, the learned Vrajabhūṣaṇa, this (work) was completed in (the year) counted by (the word-numerals) flavour, moon, mountain, and moon [1716], in (the month of) Phālguna, on Friday, the first lunar day of its dark (fortnight)."

and Derge xylographs, vol. 125 *(co)*, fol. 1b1–131a4 and 131b1–160a7; Narthang xylograph, vol. 123 *(go)*, fol. 223a1–377a7, and vol. 124 *(ṅo)*, fol. 1–37a5; Peking xylograph, vol. 123 *(go)*, fol. 204b7–310a8, and vol. 124 *(ṅo)*, fol. 1–38a3 [~ Otani reprint, vol. 144, pp. 27–70 and 71–87]; Mongolian version (made by Güüsi 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bstan-'phel), vol. 123 *(go)*, fol. 319a–523b, and vol. 124 *(ṅo)*, fol. 2b–58a. Both works were already contained in Bu-ston's recension, as appears from his gSuṅ-'bum, vol. 26 *(la)*, fol. 117a2, and vol. 28 *(sa)*, fol. 111a5. (Being original productions, they are not recorded in the systematic catalogue of translations in vol. 24 *[ya]*, fol. 143a5 sqq.) — On the genesis of the Mahāvyutpatti and the problems connected with it see, e.g., N. SIMONSSON, Indo-tibetische Studien, I, Uppsala, 1957, pp. 212 and 238. On its organization and some interesting articles see W. WASSILJEW, BCHP 11, col. 362; TH. ZACHARIAE, GGA 1888, p. 848; E. MÜLLER, JRAS 1912, p. 511. On the meaning of *vyutpatti* ("encyclopaedia") see TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 36, p. 361, and R. PISCHEL, ZDMG 39, p. 96.

Edited by I.P. MINAEV, Buddizm, I 2, Sanktpeterburg, 1887, p. 1 (2nd ed. by N.D. MIRONOV, BB 13, Sanktpeterburg, 1911) (Sanskrit only); by A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS (published incompletely by E.D. Ross and S.C. VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA), MASB 4, pts. 1–2, Calcutta, 1910–16 (Sanskrit, Tibetan, and English); by R. SAKAKI, Kyōto, 1916–25 (repr. 1962, 1965) (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese), with Tibetan index by K. NISHIO, Kyoto, 1936 (repr. 1962, 1965); and by U. WOGIHARA, Tokyo, 1927 (repr. 1959) (Sanskrit and Chinese only). — The Chinese equivalents in SAKAKI's and WOGIHARA's editions are derived from a Peking tetraglot manuscript (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongol) of unknown date preserved in Leningrad.

(11) the Ṅo-mthsar nor-bui do-śal of Thse-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (1697–1763), son of bKra-śis-chos-rgyal alias Ṅag-dbaṅ-thsaṅs-pa of the mDo-mkhar family in sTag-luṅ, who was appointed minister by Pho-lha-nas (1728–47); a Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary of about 15,000 words arranged alphabetically and compiled from the Tibetan versions of the Mahāvyutpatti, the Madhyavyutpatti, Amarasiṃha's Amarakoṣa, Subhūticandra's Kāmadhenu, Śrīdharasena's Abhidhānamuktāmālā, and a number of non-lexicographical works.

Noticed for the first time by W. WASSILJEW, BCHP 11, col. 362. Reproduced phototypically from a manuscript copy by J. BACOT, Buddh. II 2, Paris, 1930. Cf. LOKESH CHANDRA, The Amarakoṣa in Tibet, New Delhi, 1965, pref., p. 8; L. PETECH, China and Tibet in the early 18th century, Leiden, [2]1972, p. 3 et passim; id., Aristocracy and government in Tibet 1728–1959, Roma, 1973, p. 71. On the reliability of Thse-riṅ's information see C. VOGEL, NAWG 1976, p. 320.

(12) the Prajñā or Dri-bral nor-bui me-loṅ of the Sa-skya monk bsTan-'dzin-rgyal-mthsan, a Sanskrit-Tibetan repertory in 14 parts of Indian lexicography, grammar, and metrics compiled at Rig-gnas-'phel-rgyas-gliṅ Monastery in 1771 by order of the king of Derge, the dictionaries excerpted being the Mahāvyutpatti, the Amarakoṣa, and Śrīdharasena's Muktāvalī.

Parts 1, 3, and 5 edited and indexed at Gangtok, 1961; the whole work photoprinted from the Derge xylograph at Gangtok, 1962. Cf. LOKESH CHANDRA, loc. cit.

(13) the [5] Han-fan chi-yao, a Chinese-Sanskrit vocabulary of Buddhist terms arranged subjectwise in 84 paragraphs (with an appendix of isolated words and phrases recorded in the order of their radicals or first radicals) and compiled at the instance of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1723).

[5] see below, p. 383.

Edited with French rendering by C. DE HARLEZ, TP I, 7, p. 356, and 8, p. 129.

(14) the **[6]** Man han hsi-fan chi-yao or [7] Wu i ho-pi chi-yao, known as the Pentaglot Lexicon, a systematic register of Buddhist terms in 71 paragraphs and five languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese; compiled from the Mahāvyutpatti at Peking by order of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1736–95).

First described by J.P. ABEL-RÉMUSAT, MA 1, p. 153. A xylographic print of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian portions issued as "Buddhistische Triglotte" by A. SCHIEFNER, St. Petersburg, 1859 (repr. New Delhi, 1973); the Sanskrit text edited by I.P. MINAEV, Buddizm, I 2, Sanktpeterburg, 1887, p. 119; the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts edited and rendered into English, with constant reference to the Manchurian, Mongolian, and Chinese versions, by C. DE HARLEZ, BOR 2–4, passim; the whole work reproduced in facsimile by RAGHU VIRA, ŚPS 19, New Delhi, 1961 (with indices).

CHINESE CHARACTERS

[1] 拘那羅陀

[2] 翻外國語七卷 一名雜事 一名俱舍論因緣事

[3] 法集名數經

[4] 施護

[5] 漢梵集要

[6] 滿漢西梵集要

[7] 五譯合璧集要

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V. Krishnamacharya: [ABCIM 191], VI, pp. 326–413.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABCIM	K.L. Janert's Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts (pt. 1, Wiesbaden, 1965)
AB(OR)I	Annals of the Bhandarkar (Oriental Research) Institute
ACIO	Actes du Congrès international des Orientalistes
AI	Acta Iranica
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin
ALS	Adyar Library Series
AOR	Annals of Oriental Research (Madras)
AOx	Anecdota Oxoniensia. Aryan Series
AR	Asiatic(k) Researches
ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India Reports
ĀSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
ĀVJG	Ācārya-śrī-Vijayakamala-sūrīśvarajī-Jaina-Granthamālā
BB	Bibliotheca Buddhica
BCHP	Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
BIHM	Bulletin of the Institute of History of Medicine (Hyderabad)
BKIS	(Bezzenbergers) Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen
BOR	Babylonian and Oriental Record
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte
Buddh.	Buddhica. Documents et travaux pour l'étude du bouddhisme
CSCRS	Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series
CSJGM	Candrasiṃha-Sūri-Jaina-Grantha-Mālā
CSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series
DCBCSJS	Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series
DKAW	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe
DLJP	Śreṣṭhi-Devacanda-Lālbhāī-Jaina-Pustakoddhāra
EI	Epigraphia Indica
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
GPS	Grandha Pradarsani Series
GSAI	Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana
HIL	A History of Indian Literature (Wiesbaden, 1973ff.)
HPJG	Śrī-Harṣa-Puṣpāmṛta-Jaina-Granthamālā
HSS	Haridas Sanskrit Series
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IJHS	Indian Journal of History of Science
IS	Indische Studien
JA	Journal asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JB(O)RS	Journal of the Bihar (and Orissa) Research Society

JKPG	Jaikrishnadas-Krishnadas Prachyavidya Granthamala
JMA	Journal of the Music Academy (Madras)
JMJG	Jnana-pitha Moorti Devi Jain Granthamala. Sanskrit Grantha No. . . .
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JSB	Jain Siddhānt Bhāskar
KSS	Kāśī Sanskrit Series
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
LDS	Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series
MA	Mélanges asiatiques
MAIS	Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie
MASB	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
MKJMM	Mukti-Kamala-Jaina-Mohana-Mālā
MKPAW	Monatsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
MUKS	Madras University Kannada Series
MUSS	Madras University Sanskrit Series
MVG-PG	Mithilā Vidyāpīṭha-Granthamālā. 1. Prācīnācārya Granthāvalī
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse
PKJG	Pūjyaśrī Kāśīrām Jain Granthamālā
PMSG	Prācyavāṇī Mandira Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā
PO	Poona Orientalist
POS	Poona Oriental Series
PTAIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference
PUJ	Patna University Journal
QJAHRS	Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
RPG	Rājasthān Purātan Granthamālā
s.	saṃvat (year of the Vikrama era, beginning 58 B.C.)
ś.	śāka (year of the Śaka era, beginning A.D. 78)
SBP	Sarasvatī Bhavana Prakāśanamālā
SIAL	Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography
SJS	Singhi Jaina Series
SKAW	Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe
SKPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
SOA	Sammlung orientalistischer Arbeiten im Verlag von Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig
SPAIOC	Summaries of papers submitted to . . . the All-India Oriental Conference
ŚPS	Śata-Piṭaka Series
SSL	Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography
TI	Taishō Issaikyō
TICHR	Transactions of the International Congress for the History of Religions
TP	T'oung pao
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
VSS	Vidyabhawan Sanskrit Series
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YJG	Śrī-Yaśovijaya-Jaina- (or Śrī-Jaina-Yaśovijaya-) Granthamālā
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik
ZKM	Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

INDICES

The order is that of the Roman alphabet. The references are to pages when unbracketed and to footnotes when bracketed. Main references are given in italics.

Names (classical) and titles

Names (modern)

Varia